

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL has again taken his seat in Parliament as Member for the City of London, as Cabinet Minister, and as leader of the House of Commons. Sir George Grey has been gazetted as one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; the Colonial Office has seen the departure of its late occupant and the arrival of its new one; the Duke of Newcastle is enabled to concentrate his energies on war business alone, and the Ministerial crisis, we presume, is over.

Lord John Russell met with no opposition at the election on Wednesday. Mr. Urquhart had been rousing public attention to the appearance of "connivance" with our apparent enemy Russia—that old story which Mr. Urquhart has been trying to make the English people believe for eighteen years, and which has been half adopted by the Tory Opposition, in order to have something to say against Ministers. Mr. Urquhart, however, found few people to stand by him, excepting gentlemen belonging to an association intended, we imagine, for a totally different purpose. He was promised a proposer on the day of nomination, and he has written to the papers to say that it was not he who caused the failure,—he was there on the platform ready to speak if he had had a right; but his proposer had "levanted." Lord John Russell's re-election, therefore, sank into a matter of form. He abstained, as his proposer and seconder did, from discussing those domestic questions of improvement, which, he said, "have been neglected rather than debated, and had been withdrawn in deference to general feeling rather than resisted by the Opposition." He spoke solely of the war; but on this point he did tell something that may be regarded as news. He stated his belief that the war against Russia has become one by the Five Powers, instead of the two, or rather three Powers, and he declares that the war will be prosecuted until some cession has been obtained from Russia which will prevent her renewing invasion in future. The *Times* indicates that that cession might be not only the evacuation of the Principalities, but the dismantling of Sebastopol, the surrender of the Black Sea fleet, and the relinquishment of the Crimea. Lord John Russell, however, distinctly affirmed that Ministers have not yet resolved, and if they had, would not state, what are the terms which they

expect to make—terms which must be regulated by the fortune of war, and by the concurrence of allies, especially of France. In all this Lord John said nothing more, and, we may say, nothing less, than quite consists with common sense. He could not be expected to make greater revelations, but his assurances are something towards the satisfaction of the public curiosity.

There is one continually increasing guarantee for the honesty of Austria—namely, that her enemy-ally is manifestly losing ground on the seat of warfare. We have reports from Silistria and the surrounding region down to the 8th of June; at that time, not only did Silistria continue to hold out, but the sorties that have been obscurely reported by the electric telegraph, and which are, perhaps, in some degree exaggerated in the Turkish accounts, must, nevertheless, have been very successful. We may "allow for Oriental grandeur" in the numbers of the killed and wounded; but it is evident that the Russians have been slaughtered by wholesale,—their mines filled up, counter-mines exploded, and their whole position rendered fatal, if not untenable. Twenty-two transports had arrived at Varna with the allied forces. On the left bank of the Danube the Turks had made good their advance as far as the Aluta, with signal victories of a skirmishing character; but the whole effect of these movements in advance is confessed in the retrograde movement of Prince Paskiewitch, who, sick with Dobrudscha fever and disappointment, retires to Jassy, there establishing his head-quarters and fortifying the place.

It was for a time supposed that this movement was made in deference to the demand of Austria, and that it was preparatory to the evacuation of the Principalities; but the most credible report is, that the Russian Government has actually refused compliance with the demand of Austria. This was to be expected. To yield that which would satisfy the Western Powers, would be an act of humiliation which Russia will not make, until she shall have learnt wisdom by much more suffering than she has yet undergone. Perhaps Nicholas will never live to make that signal act of retraction. On the other hand, the German Powers are not likely to falter at present, since Turkey and her allies are making such well-established advances, and Russia is showing such manifest signs of weakness. After making themselves hated for their tyranny amongst the Moldavians and the Wallachians, the Russians are now earning the

contempt of those peoples by a leniency to which they have resorted as their strength declines. Austria will have no sympathy for the weakness of Russia, whatever she might have felt for the success and vigour of her protecting ally. We had always held that Austria would be honest in proportion to the compulsion put upon her, and to the harmony of her interests with her honesty. At present we have all those guarantees which consist in the prospect of bringing down the Czar.

President Pierce has issued a proclamation against the contemplated invasion of Cuba. It would be very desirable to keep the progress of litigation in regard to that island as regular as possible. We should hear with regret that it had at the present moment been invaded by unauthorised bands. The quarrel stands very well as it does, and if it proceed in a perfectly regular manner, America may be able to take her own from the impotent grasp of Spain by the willing adhesion of the Cuban citizens, without disturbing her relations with other countries. Those relations are at present satisfactory, rumours about disputes at the Falkland Islands, and so forth, notwithstanding. We have reason to entertain the most confident belief that the official relations with our own country and America were never on a footing of greater frankness and mutual respect.

More than one important subject has been discussed in Parliament. The Ballot has had a debate not ending in a successful division, but still contributing greatly to the progress of that measure. Mr. Henry Berkeley threw novelty over the old arguments by new illustrations; Mr. John Bright showed how the existing Ballot band of 200 pledged members might compel Ministers to comply with their claim, if they were to make their support of Ministers depend upon the compliance; and Sir William Molesworth showed, by one of the best speeches that the subject has yet had, not only that entrance into office has failed to effect any change in his opinions and conduct, but that a genuine Ballotman, uncompromised, can find his way into the Cabinet. Lord Palmerston's free-and-easy attacks upon the proposal told for the hour, as his speeches are apt to do, but with sophism too unsubstantial to have any real influence on the question. We do not overrate the probable effect of the Ballot, but we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that Lord Palmerston's sophistries will no more prevent its being passed, than his dislike of Reform prevented that measure.

We are far from sharing the regret of a contemporary, or of the Duke of Newcastle, that the subject of separating Canada from England should have been discussed. We know that a notion has been lurking amongst philosophic minds in this country that colonies are costly appendages, and that they are better separated; and it is well that the notion should stand forth to be scouted. Children are costly appendages; but the economical rule holds good with children as with strangers, that those who co-operate for common interests will be stronger to attain objects precious to both than when they are separated; and community of blood should be an additional element of strength. The colonies are not distinct from us; we supply them year by year, literally, with blood, with wealth, and with the means of creating those riches that they hew out of the rough earth and send back to us. We supply them with Government, with protection. The only pity of it is, that we do not do more. The imperial federation which exists does not necessarily prevent local government. The Duke of Newcastle, who was engaged on Thursday night in carrying a bill to render the Legislative Council of Canada elective instead of nominative, because the colonists wish it, has done more than any Minister to promote the affectionate adhesion of the colonists to the mother country; and amongst reform statesmen we may point to him as the principal cause why the American, as well as the African colonists have declared their desire to stand by the English flag, and to defend the territories of our common Sovereign.

The Lord Chancellor has introduced a bill to improve the law procedure and judicial disposition of matrimonial causes and divorce. The bill is limited too strictly to these objects; it does not affect the relations of man and wife, does not alter the law relating to divorce; but it brings together the jurisdiction now scattered between several courts, hands it over to the Court of Chancery, and of course introduces many improvements in the methods of conducting a divorce case. The bill is not any attempt to reform the marriage law; it is solely a reform of the procedure under the law as it stands; but it will clear the way for more.

The passing of the Exchequer Bond Bill in the House of Lords has led to some new complaints by Lord Montague, and to some counter-statements from Lord Granville, by which it appears that the applications for the series B and C of the bonds have increased in number, while the quotations of the money market show that the bonds are rising in value. By slow degrees the character of Mr. Gladstone's finance is understood and appreciated.

The Oxford University Bill is now a confessed failure as far as the great objects for which it was invented by Lord John Russell are concerned. The measure is not now compulsory on the colleges, commanding themselves to reform themselves, under penalty of being reformed by the commissioners. It is now a permissive measure; the Fellows—one of the worst institutions at Oxford—have the power of a veto, and of course they will veto everything. However, we agree both with Mr. Blackett and Lord John, that the bill must do some good. It is something to stir up Oxford. Last night a further concession was forced upon the Government by a combined attack of Tories and Peelites, headed by Mr. Roundell Palmer. One of the grossest abuses in the university is preserved by Mr. Palmer's clause. Winchester School supplies New College with fellows, on the ground that they are founders' kin; and New College is, perhaps, the most illiterate in the university. A fine illustration of William of Wykeham's meaning in founding that school of learning!

The horrible murder of six children by their mother, at Esher, near London, discloses the existence of one more disordered home in the midst of the respectable society of the humbler class. Some license appears to have been mixed up with the discord that had driven the husband from his house, and had made the mother the murderer of her children—those children having for their foster-brother the Prince of Wales.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The chief debate of the week has arisen on the annual motion which Mr. Henry Berkeley makes for leave to introduce a bill for taking votes at Parliamentary elections by the BALLOT.

In making this motion, Mr. BERKELEY said that encouragement had not rendered him sanguine, neither had defeat taken away his courage. The measure is both just and expedient, but there is little hope that it will pass until it becomes a matter of compulsion and necessity. The question at issue is simply "shall the electors elect?" The House dared not openly say the electors shall not elect, but they said we will prevent you from electing those you may think fit. Among the spectral arguments against which they had to contend, is that one so much relied on, that the franchise is a trust. But that delusive and dangerous doctrine crumbles to pieces at the touch of reason. Who can define a breach of the electoral trust?

The Tory non-electors would say that the voter who voted for a Whig candidate was guilty of a breach of trust. The Whig non-electors would say that the voter who voted for the Tory candidate was guilty of a breach of trust, and the Radical non-electors, and that class was by far the largest, would say that the voter was guilty of a breach of trust who did not vote for the Radical candidate. But he denied the responsibility of the elector to the non-electors.

At the recent Cork election the priest said it would be a breach of trust to vote for Chatterton. When their trustees gave votes for Chatterton, the non-electors chalked their backs, so that they might know whom to pelt with stones! The franchise is a right limited by two things, according to Blackstone. First, that the vote should not be purchased; and secondly, that it should not be at the disposal of a peer of the realm. It was his object to prevent these two barriers from being trodden down.

The ballot has succeeded in America, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and France. Last year a great outcry was made because the ballot had given France an Emperor in Louis Napoleon, and thence it was argued the ballot was bad. But the Emperor is now our faithful ally, fighting with us for freedom, and Mr. Berkeley would have a right, he said, to choke gentlemen with their own arguments, and point to this ballot-elected Emperor, only he disdained to do so. The ballot is not a criterion to test the virtues of candidates, that must be left to the judgment of the electors. He had been asked why he did not give up the ballot, as the Government had withdrawn the Reform Bill. He could not see that the one depended in any way on the other. It might as well be said that they should not shoot grouse in Scotland, because Lord Aberdeen did not wear the philibeg. (Loud laughter.) The Reform Bill did not contain one scintilla of reference to the ballot. There were bills introduced to check bribery and corruption, and they were sent up-stairs to be tinkered; but they would end as all tinkering ended—the tinkered work would fall to pieces at once. (Loud laughter.) He rejoiced that the Reform Bill had been withdrawn, because he did not think it contained the ingredients necessary to produce success, whilst it did possess ingredients which would in his opinion be destructive of the liberal interest. He could not blame several members of the House for refusing to go into the same lobby with the noble lord to vote for a measure which would disfranchise the boroughs which returned them. If the noble lord wished to put an end to corruption he must look to the people. The only way of doing that was to give a much larger extension of the suffrage, less complex, more easily understood, and to join with that protection to the elector at the polling booth. Though the Reform Bill slumbered, he hoped he should not always have to speak of it in the past tense, or to say of it "Requiescat in pace." Mr. Berkeley contended that penal enactments are useless against bribery, quoting Deane to show that they were so in his time, and the testimony of Macaulay to prove that they are so in our own. Those who had looked into the system knew the utter insufficiency of an oath to control an elector. Why he knew an instance of an elector who went to the poll, received on going to the poll a 5*l.* note, and took the bribery oath, with the 5*l.* note in one hand and the prayer-book in the other. Another elector was fought for on his way to the poll by two contending parties. One party contrived to slip a 5*l.* note into his right hand; the other party insisted on the bribery oath being taken. The man turned short round, and ran away. People of course said, "Oh, he cannot stand the oath." But what was the fact? He came up at the end of the day and voted, and he afterwards explained that having the 5*l.* note in his right hand, he could not lay hold of the book without exposing it. (Laughter.)

In illustration of the lengths to which intimidation may be carried, Mr. Berkeley told a story of a horrible case that occurred in 1841, but which he had been unable to mention before, because he had bound himself not to do so until one of the parties died:—

"It appeared that a master tradesman, an active conserva-

tive in a certain borough, voted for the liberal candidate, and influenced five electors, his tenants and workmen, to do the same. He paused to say that he was positive that none of the candidates knew anything of the case in question, and were both of them too honourable men, not to have turned their backs upon such conduct with indignation. This tradesman did not hesitate to say that he had been intimidated into thus acting by a man of property to whom he owed a very large sum of money. But the strangest part of the case was that the creditor was a country gentleman residing in a distant county, and likewise a strong conservative. He now proceeded to point out the nature of the screw which compelled a man of property and a conservative to call upon another conservative to support a liberal candidate. The country gentleman had a sister well married and settled in the borough where the debtor resided. On the day preceding the election an attorney called upon this lady. He produced a packet of letters, and said to her, "Through the death of a client of mine, these letters have come into my possession; I know them to have been written by you previous to your marriage. Look at them. If they fall into your husband's possession, ruin and disgrace will overtake you. I know that your brother has advanced large sums of money to a man in this town; I must have that man's vote and influence for the liberal candidate, or your husband will have possession of these letters." In short, this election agent applied to this unhappy lady the screw of ruin; the sister applied to the brother the screw of compassion; the brother applied to the debtor the creditor's screw; the debtor applied to his workmen and tenants the master's and landlord's screw; and this ramification of atrocious election screws was applied to five electors, to compel them to betray what they believed to be the best interests of their country. In support of this bill he invoked members on all sides of that House. He had never treated this question as a party question. He did not wish to deny that he was a partisan, and had been a partisan of the Liberal administrations which had existed during the seventeen years that he had had the honour of a seat in that House. But on this question he was of no party, he belonged to neither faction; he was neither a Monarchist nor a Capulet, but he said "A plague on both your houses," for through their instrumentality liberty of conscience and freedom of election had been stabbed well nigh to death."

LORD DUDLEY STUART seconded, and Mr. WATSON supported the motion. Then came the great opponent of the motion—Lord PALMERSTON—who made a slashing and confident speech, using up the old materials with his customary ingenuity and vigour. He said he was not insensible to the advantages of any system that would prevent bribery or intimidation, but he was convinced that neither the ballot nor any other mechanical contrivance nor legislative enactment would produce secret voting in this country. Canvassing could not be prevented, nor would men keep their political opinions to themselves. There was no such secrecy in America, where men, too honest and too manly to conceal their convictions, actually made ostentatious parade of them. Any with the nonsense and delusion held out to the public on this subject. (Loud cheers.) He admitted that a few shopkeepers might avail themselves of the ballot, in the fear that their interests might be injured by acting openly, but they would be canvassed, and if they gave a promise and kept it, what was the use of the ballot; while if they gave a promise and broke it, where was the boasted morality of the voter? He objected to the ballot, first, because it would not succeed; and secondly, because it might. The franchise was a trust to be exercised for the benefit of the public at large, and ought to be publicly discharged, and he should hold the same doctrine even if universal suffrage existed, and if a man were invested with a trust, he ought to make up his mind to confront the inconveniences its execution might cause. He believed that the allegations of injury received from voting were greatly exaggerated.

SIR JOSHUA WALMSLEY, Mr. C. FORSTER, and Mr. J. D. FITZGERALD all spoke in favour of the motion; but they were eclipsed by Mr. BRIGHT, who dealt less with the arguments in behalf of the ballot, assuming that it must some day be carried, than with the position of its supporters in relation to the Ministry. Some extracts will illustrate his view:—

"It is not long since we (the supporters of the ballot) were sitting on the Opposition side of the House with these two noble lords. They, by means of a combination of circumstances and of parties, and by the failure of some schemes of honourable gentlemen opposite, walked over to this (the Ministerial) side of the House, and we walked over with them—(laughter from the Opposition)—and we accepted them (I am speaking not so much my own sentiments as those of the gentlemen I see before me, and to the left of me), we accepted them in some sort as the leaders of the party to which we are attached, and we took no security, no guarantee whatever from them, that they should in any of their measures consult the views which we held. They would not be security which all Governments have, that they would not be needlessly disturbed; that we would give our votes, at any rate whenever we could with any sort of conscience, in their favour. Now, honourable members opposite oppose the ballot. Nothing could be more natural—I do not in the least complain of it. I do not deny that it is a question on which honourable gentlemen may honestly differ in opinion; but at any rate honourable gentlemen opposite are consistent; they are not in favour of anything that may have the favour of democratic progress; they do not want this House to be that power or that assembly which the constitution, as I understand it, intended it should be; they desire that it should owe a strong allegiance to the other House of Parliament, and that the noble lords and great proprietors who have seats there should also sit here by their nominees and representatives to influence to a large extent the decisions and conclusions of this House. I do not blame them for that

—that is their theory of our constitution and Government; but at all events that is not the theory of the noble lord the member for London. I would not say so much of the noble lord the member for Tiverton—(laughter)—but I say of Lord John Russell, that he has professed to hold (whether in their entirety he holds them I know not) principles of a more popular, and, in some sense, more democratic character. But, now, what is the state of the case? Why, that 200 members sit on this side of the House who are pledged in favour of the ballot—not merely pledged because they have told their constituents that it is the only remedy for the disgraceful practices at elections. Why, we come here and acknowledge as our leaders a number of gentlemen on that bench (the Treasury) who are right, or appear at least as if they deny altogether that we are right, or appear at least as if they deny the soundness of the course we wish them to pursue, and they ally themselves session after session on this question with hon. gentlemen opposite, to whom they profess to be opposed in politics. And not only those who sit near me, but gentlemen on that bench (the Treasury), look at the position in which many of them stand. I have here a list of the opinions of what are called generally subordinate members of the Government. I ought to state that one is not a subordinate member, because he sits in the Cabinet. Now, take first the law-officers of the Crown. I have got the name of Cockburn down here—(a laugh)—and the name of Bethell—and names more eminent cannot be found in the roll of existing English lawyers. Is this a foolish or absurd proposition that we make, that men so distinguished have always been consistently its advocates? Next there is the member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Bouvier), the Chairman of Ways and Means, who, if he is not a Government officer, is at least an eminent member of this House; then Colonel Boyle, the Hon. Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Keogh (the Solicitor-General for Ireland), Mr. Osborne, a gentleman who could make an admirable speech on this question if he happened to sit below the gangway. Lord Alfred Paget, Mr. Charles Villiers, and a right honourable gentleman, whom, perhaps, I ought not to reckon; and yet the occurrence which has changed his position is so recent—I mean the Right Hon. E. Strutt. (Laughter.) Now, it is an unfortunate thing for us who are in favour of the ballot that the noble lord the late member for London, whilst in a very kind manner, as I understood, he invited the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to leave the Government, has taken into it the right honourable gentleman the late member for Morpeth (Sir G. Grey), who is against the ballot, whilst two hundred members on this side are in favour of this measure, and whilst not less than twelve members of the Government have voted in its favour, and yet an advocate of the ballot is excluded from the Government, and a gentleman taken into the Cabinet who when he was member for Devonport was also an advocate of that measure, but who, since he became member for Northampton and afterwards member for Morpeth, has turned round and voted against it. A ballot man is shut out of the Government, and also a quondam ballot man; but one whose inconsistency is glaring is taken in as part of the Cabinet. Then there is the right honourable baronet the member for Southwark (Sir W. Molesworth). I observed, not long ago, that he, in a speech to his constituents, adhered to his ancient opinions in favour of the ballot, and he voted last year in support of it; and I have not the slightest doubt at this moment that on all future occasions he will do the same. He holds the opinion that I now hold, that the ballot is the real remedy for the grievances and the evils of which we complain. And when the noble lord the late member for London stands up, and when the noble lord the member for Tiverton gets up—as he has done to-night—and in a very showy manner appeals to honourable gentlemen opposite, with whom his sympathies always seem to go, and makes a speech against this proposition which has the support of 200 members of this side of the House, and almost the unanimous support of the constituencies of the country where they can speak out—I say the right hon. baronet the member for Southwark is a man whose opinion on a question of this nature is as much worth taking as that of any of his colleagues; and I have some confidence that Parliamentary and even official etiquette will not on all occasions prevent his expressing his free and honest opinion to this House. (Cheers.) Why, the right honourable gentleman was put into the Government under peculiar circumstances. It was the boast of the framers of the present Government that it represented all shades of the Liberal party. Now, I do not think the Cabinet does adequately represent that shade of the Liberal party understood to be connected with the question of the ballot; but I trust we may trust in the right honourable gentleman (Sir W. Molesworth), whether in this House or the Cabinet, or wherever he is (and I think his past course shows that we may rely upon him), and feel satisfied that at any rate he will lose no opportunity for maintaining amongst his colleagues those principles which he maintained amongst his constituents, and whilst he was an independent and unofficial member of Parliament. Now the question that occurs to my mind is what should we do to have the ballot passed? . . . What is our duty?—the duty of two hundred members of this House? By whose suffrages, I ask, do these men sit on the Treasury bench? (Cheers.) Why, very often, I must say, by the suffrages of honourable gentlemen opposite. Those were the cheers which the noble lord the member for Tiverton received to-night? Why, I heard but one feeble voice from a back Ministerial bench—(laughter)—feeble, no doubt, as the mental power which brought it uttered to the conclusion at which he appears to have arrived—I say with the exception of that solitary feeble voice, I did not hear a single cheer from this side in favour of the noble lord; but his whole speech, on the other hand, was received with perfect enthusiasm and rapture by the honourable gentlemen opposite. Well, I only wish if the noble lord is their leader that they really had him. (Laughter.) For my part I repudiate altogether the leadership of men who, pretending to be liberal, and acting by the support of the votes of men on this side of the House, pertinaciously refuse, year after year, the smallest concession on a question on which the great majority of the House has made up its mind long ago. I appeal to honourable gentlemen opposite. Do not we

occupy a very absurd position? ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) I am not at all ashamed to confess it; I have held this opinion for a long time. . . . What we want to do is this, and any fifty members on this side of the House can do it, that is, to say to the leader of the House when he comes back among us, and say also to Lord Aberdeen and those honourable gentlemen who have come to find the air of the Treasury bench agrees remarkably well with them—to say to them, "We do not wish to take your places, and send you to the other side of the House, but if you mean to be the leaders of this party, if there is one thing that we are more resolved upon than another, and about which we are unanimous, it is the question of the ballot, and we insist upon it that you take up that question, and by our help pass it through Parliament, or else you understand that you are not our leaders, and we are not your followers. You may have your followers, and there may be those who wish to have you as their leaders—make your arrangements with your supporters, and carry on the Government with their support, we at least are determined to stand up for our own policy and our own convictions, and would infinitely prefer to sit on the other side of the House in opposition, maintaining what we believe to be true, than to sit behind you watching you betray and oppose everything that we believe to be most essential for the welfare of the country." (Cheers.) Now, that is the course I would recommend honourable gentlemen on this side to adopt; and I will tell them boldly and freely that they will not do their duty to their constituents who are anxious for the settlement of the question, nor be doing their duty towards public morality, which suffers so much from the want of the success of this measure, if they go on in this way year after year, discussing, arguing, dividing upon, and registering their opinions in its favour, and take no further step whatever to carry those opinions into practical effect."

Mr. WHITESIDE expressing a hope that Lord Palmerston's speech had convinced Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, led the way for Sir William to deliver a long and elaborate argument to show that with the ballot bribery would be less efficacious, and more easily detected. Lord Palmerston's arguments he described as the old stock in trade, repeated session after session, *usque ad nauseam*. For his own part, he had never flinched from his opinion on the ballot, and every discussion since, 18 years before, he had seconded one of Mr. Grote's motions, only strengthened his convictions. He would confine himself to the efficacy of the ballot in arresting the progress of bribery, because he had never heard an argument of any force in refutation of the position that the ballot is the only effectual check to intimidation. His conviction that the ballot will check bribery is founded on an examination of the reasons why the bribery laws have failed. Taking up this theme, Sir William showed at great length that the bribery laws have failed because they are penal enactments. A penal enactment fails either because it is too severe, or because the offence is difficult of detection. But with the ballot bribery would be more easily detected, because it would be reduced to one form—that of collective bribery, the least efficacious of all its forms. For, with open voting money is rarely paid before a vote is given, much less would it be paid under secret voting. And as to the chief mode now practised, that of paying a voter contingent on his voting for a specified candidate, that would be impossible under the ballot, because there would be no security that the voter gave his vote according to his promise. There remains, therefore, only collective bribery. Would not that also be nearly impossible?

"It is said that with secret suffrage corrupt electors would not act singly and alone, but in combination, and that collective bribery would be substituted for individual bribery. For instance, it is said that a body of electors sufficient in number to decide a contest would combine together to be bribed, that a bargain would be made with them to the effect that each of them should receive a certain bribe (say 5*l.*) in the event of candidate A being returned; that each of them would perceive that if they acted together and voted together A would be returned, and they would be paid. Thence it was inferred that they would act together and vote together, and that their temptation to do so would be nearly equal to the certainty of obtaining a 5*l.* note a piece, or nearly equal to what it is in the ordinary mode of bribery with open voting. I will, for the sake of argument only, assume the validity of these positions; but I maintain that such collective bribery would be very liable to detection, and much less likely to escape detection, than the ordinary mode of individual bribery with open voting. For how is bribery generally practised with open voting? The bribers say to the electors—"Vote for A, and you shall receive 5*l.*" Then, when the day of election comes, the corrupt elector goes to the poll, votes for candidate A, receives a ticket, takes it to a stranger in a dark room in an out-of-the-way street, and receives five pounds. There the transaction ends; it need only be known to the three persons concerned in it—namely, the briber, the bribed, and the stranger; and if they keep their own counsel detection is almost impossible. But with collective bribery and secret voting the promise of the bribe must be made, not to individual electors separately (for I have shown that an elector acting singly and alone would be little influenced by the promise of a bribe to be paid in the uncertain event of a bribing candidate being returned), but the promise must be made to the body of the electors, who are assumed to be leagued together for bribery and combined action. Each of them would therefore be aware that many electors besides himself were to be paid in the event of candidate A being returned. Now, it is evident that, to produce any effect by this mode of collective bribery with the ballot, the promise of a bribe must be made to a considerable body of electors—considerable I mean in proportion to the numbers

of a constituency. For with the ballot it would be no use to promise a dozen or so of electors that they should be paid in the event of candidate A being returned. At present, with open voting, even in a considerable constituency, an election may be gained in a close contest by the judicious purchase of a small number of votes. But with the ballot nothing of this kind could be done. With the ballot the only effective bribery must be wholesale and collective. A moment's reflection must convince any honourable gentleman that if, with the ballot, he wish effectually to bribe a constituency, he must promise to pay in the event of his return as many electors as, in addition to those upon whose unbought promises he could confidently rely, would constitute a majority of the constituency. For instance, suppose the constituency to be bribed contained a thousand electors—suppose an honourable gentleman could confidently rely upon the unbought promises of 500 (a large proportion in a corrupt constituency), then, to secure his return, the honourable member would have to promise to pay, in the event of his return, a body of at least 201 electors. In the same manner, in a constituency containing 10,000 electors, the honourable member would have to promise to pay, in the event of his return, a body of at least 2,001 electors. Now, a promise made to so many electors, and known by each of them to be made to so many, could not be kept secret from the rest of the bribable class of the constituency, and then not only those who had voted for A, but those who had voted for his antagonist, would demand payment in the event of A being returned. (Cheers.) Then in what a horrible dilemma an honourable member would be placed who had obtained his return in this manner! (Cheers and laughter.) I ask any honourable gentleman who is conversant with this subject to put himself in the position of such an honourable member—to fancy that he had secured his return by a promise to pay a large body of electors; that having fulfilled his promise he received applications for payment from a large number of other electors. What would you do? What would you say? You could not refuse payment to any elector on the ground that he had not voted for you, because with secret suffrage you could not tell how he had voted. If you were to refuse on the ground that he was not one of the body of electors whom you had promised to pay in the event of your being returned, he would probably tell you that it was a shame that you had not promised him, that he was as ready to be bribed as any one; that he had voted for you, and as you were returned, that he had as good a right to be paid as his neighbours. If you still persevered in your refusal, you would make an enemy who knew your secret, who had perhaps voted for you, who would be revenged upon you, and who would do his best to have you detected and convicted. On the other hand, if you paid him out of fear, you would have to pay every one of the bribable class of electors in the constituency; therefore, in some constituencies, you would have to pay all who had voted for you and all who voted against you. (Cheers and laughter.) You would be ruined in consequence of the numbers you would have to pay, and in proportion to the numbers whom you did pay would be the chance of your detection. Therefore, in all cases the chances of detection would be much greater than at present; in many cases it would amount to a certainty. Then you would be convicted, severely punished, disqualified from sitting in Parliament, your constituency ought to be disfranchised, a new and pure one substituted, and its purity would be preserved by the ballot; for one of the most beneficial consequences which I should expect from the ballot would be the preservation of the purity of constituencies, that in the open voting are in perpetual danger of being corrupted."

Sir William Molesworth described how, in consequence of the omission of the ballot from the Reform Bill constituencies once pure are now corrupt; and how that result has been chiefly brought about by the knowledge of who are bribable, and how they voted. There is no validity in the argument that men who are ashamed to vote from notoriously corrupt motives openly, would so vote were the suffrage secret. The public opinion that operates upon bribable electors is not hostile to bribery.

"The class to whom the takers of money-bribes belong, especially in corrupt constituencies, do not look upon the taking of a bribe as a blamable or discreditable act. If you converse on this subject with an intelligent man of this class, he would justify his conduct by specious arguments difficult to refute: he will cite the example of his betters, of his superiors in station or in rank. He will say to you, 'Why should I, who am a poor man, refuse to make a few pounds by my vote, for the benefit of myself, my wife, and my children?' In taking a bribe, is my conduct more corrupt than that of the shopkeeper who votes against his conscience to secure the custom of his customers, or that of the tenant who sees in his vote the means of carrying favour with his landlord, and procuring an abatement of his rent? It is true that I desire to be rewarded for my political conduct; but so do many others, my superiors in station, in wealth, and education. So does the squireen, who influences half-a-dozen electors—so does the large landowner whose fifty pounders are counted by the score—so does the mill-owner who can put the screw on 100 ten-pounders—so does the great territorial magnate who intimidates a whole county. (Cheers.) If I desire money in return for my vote, they expect money's worth in return for their influence. (Cheers.) The squireen asks for his dependents petty places in the customs or excise—the large landowner wants for his younger sons a clerkship in the Treasury, or an attachéship to an embassy—the rich millowner aspires to gain in social position, to be called Sir John this, or Sir Thomas that—(opposition cheers, and a voice—"Sir J. Bright")—the great territorial magnate desires a peerage, or a step in the peerage, the lord lieutenant of his county, a ribbon, or a gown. (Cheers.) And if the expectation of any of these is disappointed, marvellous is the change that sometimes comes over his political convictions at the next general election.—"Hear, hear," and laughter.) It is very difficult to persuade the bribable class of electors of the fallacy of these arguments. In their eyes intimidation is a greater offence than bribery; for, say they, the magnitude of an offence



in proportion to the evil that it does to society, and the pain that it inflicts upon individuals; the evil to society from an elector voting against his convictions, is the same whether he does so for the sake of gaining a five-pound note, or from the fear of losing one—whether he is seduced by a bribe or intimidated by a threat; but to the individual elector the difference between seduction and intimidation is very great, all the difference between pleasure and pain. An elector seduced by a bribe feels that he is a free man, for he does what he likes; an elector who is intimidated by a threat feels that he is a slave, for he acts under compulsion. Therefore, I repeat, in the eyes of the poorer classes, intimidation is a far greater offence than bribery."

In fact "the grosser and more outrageous forms of intimidation have become less common, and, in fact, they are condemned by public opinion; but that the milder, more decent, and not less effective forms are practised to a great extent; and I doubt very much whether the real influence of intimidation on the votes of electors has much diminished. It is notorious that if in an agricultural district you know the opinions of the chief landowners—if, in a manufacturing district, you know the opinions of the chief millowners—you can tell very nearly what candidate will have the majority of votes in the district."

Now it is obvious that penal enactments won't stop intimidation even if they could be devised, and there is nothing that will but the ballot. In the concluding part of his speech Sir William neatly replied to the arguments used by Lord Palmerston, that the franchise is a trust, and that if votes are taken by ballot at elections they should also be taken by ballot in Parliament.

"An objection has been frequently raised to the ballot—it was stated by my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department—on the ground that the elective franchise is a trust confided to an elector for the public benefit; the trust being to choose a representative. It is said that the elector is responsible for the exercise of his trust, and therefore that he ought to vote openly, in order that the public may judge of and pronounce a judgment upon his choice of a representative. Why so? To affirm that an elector ought to vote openly in order that the public may pronounce a judgment upon his choice of a representative means, if it means anything, that the elector ought to be influenced in his choice of a representative by the opinion of the public. But for what reason ought an elector to be so influenced? The only reason that can be assigned must be, that the public are better judges of who ought to be chosen than the elector is. But if the public are better judges, if they are fitter to choose a representative, and if they are fit to choose, they ought to choose, and, therefore, they ought to have votes. (Cheers from the ministerial side.) But who are the public whom you consider fit to choose a representative? The whole community, or a portion of the community? If the whole community ought to choose a representative, then they ought to have votes—(cheers)—and the suffrage should be universal; for to vote for a candidate is so simple an act, that there is no reason why it should be done by a delegate or representative. If, on the other hand, you consider that only a portion of the community are fit to choose a representative, then you affirm that the other portion are unfit to choose. It is evident that only those who are fit to choose ought to have the franchise, and they ought to be able to choose freely. Therefore they ought to be protected in their choice of a representative from the influence of those who are unfit to choose; and the only means by which they can be so protected is the 'ballot.' (Cheers.) Therefore, the arguments upon which the doctrine of the responsibility of the elector is based may lead to an extension of the suffrage, or to universal suffrage; but they are not inconsistent with secret suffrage. On the contrary, they show the use of the ballot in protecting those who are fit to choose a representative from being influenced in their choice by those who are unfit to choose one. My noble friend (Lord Palmerston) has used an argument which has been so often answered, that I hardly dare trespass on the attention of the House by mentioning it. He says that if the electors are to have the ballot, we ought to have the ballot in this House. Really, I cannot discover any analogy whatsoever. When an elector chooses a representative, what does he do? He selects the man whom, on account of his political opinions, he considers most fit to sit in this House. The elector has therefore a right to know whether the person whom he has selected acts or does not act up to those opinions; and if after a man has taken his seat in this House his opinions change on any important question upon which he has declared his views to the electors, it is his duty to resign his seat, and leave the electors to choose some other person. The elector himself, however, has promised nothing, and it is his duty simply to select, without party bias or hope of reward, the man whom he considers the fittest person to represent him in Parliament."

The debate now languished.

Mr. BUTT opposed, and Mr. PHINN supported the motion. Mr. BERKELEY replied, and then the House went to a division.

For the motion, 157; against it, 194; majority against, 37.

So the motion was lost.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (CANADA) BILL.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE moved the second reading of this bill. For a long time, he said, it has been felt by many connected with Canada that the constitution of the Legislative Council, nominated by the Crown, did not fulfil those objects for which a second house of Legislation exists in this and other constitutional countries, as well as in many of our colonies.

"It is an undeniable fact that those who are most distinguished in the colony have frequently expressed their great repugnance and unwillingness, and in many instances their positive refusal, to go into the Legislative Council. The

statement of this single fact might almost be considered as conclusive against any determination on the part of the Legislature of this country to encourage or continue the existing system. The course which I propose to take to remedy the present state of things is this—I propose to repeal those clauses in the Union Act of Canada which prevent the Colonial Legislature from reforming its own constitution, to refer to it the question of changing the Legislative Council from a nominative to an elective body, and to leave it either to effect the proposed alteration or to pass such other measures as it may think fit. I propose, in short, to remove those hindrances to the free action of the Colonial Legislature which at present exist. That is the sole object of the present bill, with the exception of the last clause but one, the effect of which is to do away with the necessity of ordinances passed by the Colonial Legislature being laid in future upon the table of this House forty days before they are confirmed by the Crown; and likewise to render valid such measures as may have been passed, and have received the confirmation of the Crown, without having fulfilled the obligations which they ought to have fulfilled, of being laid upon our table."

LORD DESART asked the Duke of Newcastle to postpone the motion for the second reading, to afford Lord Derby an opportunity of expressing his feelings respecting the bill.—Lord Wharncliffe was understood to be also in favour of delay.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH said he did not rise to oppose the second reading of the bill. They had in the course of the last few years been making so many concessions to Canada, that the question now was, not whether they should attempt to go forward or to go back, but whether they should not, in the most friendly spirit towards Canada and the other provinces of North America, consult with the Legislature of those provinces on the expediency of taking measures for the complete exemption of those colonies from all dependence on the Crown and the Parliament of this country. He recollected, in 1828, during the time that Mr. Huskisson held the seals of the Colonial office, having a conversation with him, in which that gentleman intimated most distinctly that he thought the time had already arrived for a separation between Canada and this country, and that he had even so thoroughly considered the matter, that he mentioned to him the form of government which he thought it was for our interests to leave to Canada when our connection with it ceased. During the last few years a complete change had taken place in our relations with the North American provinces. We had established what was called responsible Government, or, to speak more intelligibly, we had given them practically an independent Government; and he could really hardly imagine a situation more inconvenient than that of a representative of her Majesty in Canada. What, he would ask, were the practical advantages of continuing our connection with Canada? There might be some advantages in it to the colony in times of peace; but, on the other hand, let their lordships consider the great dangers to us and to them arising from that connection in matters relating to war. There could be no doubt whatever that the chances of a collision between this country and the United States were greatly increased by our connection with the North American colonies. On the other hand there could be no doubt, in the event of a war taking place between this country and the United States, on grounds totally unconnected with Canada, that Canada and the other North American provinces would of necessity be exposed to the greatest calamities, from the extent of their frontier, which could possibly befall them. Under these circumstances it appeared to him a matter of almost serious consideration whether we should not endeavour in the most friendly spirit, to divest ourselves of a connection equally injurious to us and to them. He thought that at a very early period her Majesty's Government should endeavour to communicate with the leading persons in the legislative councils of all the different colonies of North America, with the view of ascertaining their opinions on this subject. Everything should be done in reference to it without compulsion, and in the most friendly spirit. We should consult with the North American provinces as we should with the members of our own families in whose interest and welfare we took the deepest concern. It would be to him a matter of satisfaction if the result should be to relieve us from a possible danger which he could not contemplate without the greatest apprehension.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE expressed not only his deep regret but his astonishment at the doctrines propounded by Lord Ellenborough, and asserted without fear of contradiction that all our legislation on the subject of trade had only the more endeared Canada to the people of England, and England to the people of Canada. If this country were to be invaded at the present moment, when our armies were making war on another soil, he should have no fear for the result; and just so he should have no fear for the result if any nation should invade Canada. He deprecated such discussions as this. (Hear, hear.) He knew that Lord Ellenborough's words would sink deep into the heart of many a Canadian and sting him with regret.

LORD BROUGHAM entirely approved of the bill, and also expressed his agreement with Lord Ellenborough in thinking that, after a certain period of time, the

best thing that could happen to the colonial connexion was what might be called its euthanasia—a separation without any quarrel, without any coldness even, but with perfect amity and good-will, so that the relations prevailing between two independent states might be substituted for those which had prevailed between the mother country and its dependency.

LORD HARROWBY believed that there was no measure by which the question of separation would be more thoroughly removed from the minds of the Canadians than by the bill before the House.

The bill was then read a second time.

NEW DIVORCE BILL.

The LORD CHANCELLOR moved the second reading of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill, on Tuesday. In his speech on the occasion he traced the history of the law of divorce from an early period. In Roman Catholic times marriage was held to be indissoluble; and then divorce was obtained by declaring the marriage null and void from the beginning. In the reign of Edward VI., a commission, with Cranmer at its head, investigated the subject, and they recommended that marriages might be set aside for adultery, cruelty, and other causes; but their recommendations never became law. Early in the 17th century divorces did, however, take place; and before its close it became understood that the ecclesiastical courts could only grant a separation from bed and board; and the hardships of this led to the practice of granting a complete divorce by act of Parliament. When Lord Loughborough held the seals certain rules had been introduced, requiring, in every case of an application for a divorce, that the person seeking it should go armed before their lordships with the double evidence—first, that he had obtained a verdict at law in an action against the adulterer; and next, that he had obtained a divorce in the ecclesiastical court, so far as that court was competent to give a divorce. The matter was then completely investigated over again at the bar of the House of Lords, and he need not say that the inquiry was conducted with great rigour, both in order to satisfy their lordships that the adultery had been made out, and that there was no collusion or connivance between any of the parties. The bill then went down to the other House, and the divorce was enacted. Those divorces had occurred in the course of the present century, at the rate of about two a year. But this was an unsatisfactory and unbecoming state of the law; because, however desirable it might be to prevent divorces, and to compel persons, if possible, to settle their differences, and to live together, yet, if there were cases of adultery, when it was impossible that that should be the case, and where relief was to be afforded, it was quite improper that that relief should be granted, not by virtue of any law which gave it to the party, but by reason of their lordships feeling that the want of the law was so grievous that in each particular case they would make a law for the occasion.

That discreditable state of things it is proposed to remedy. It was proposed to confine the ground of divorce to adultery, excluding cruelty, desertion, great criminality, and incompatibility of temper. But it is not proposed that the wife should have the same remedy on account of the adultery of the husband as was given to the husband on account of the adultery of the wife. He knew that *prima facie* this seemed a very unjust distinction, but let their lordships observe what it would lead to if adultery on the part of the husband were to entitle him to a divorce. If he wished to obtain a divorce, he would only have to multiply acts of adultery in order to attain his object. It was the fact that a husband scarcely lost caste at all, or, at any rate, only to a very slight degree, by committing adultery, while the wife who committed that offence entirely lost her station in society, and, although in point of morality and religion the criminality were the same, if adultery on the part of the husband was made the ground of divorce a profligate husband might get rid of his wife when he pleased. He, therefore, thought the commissioners had come to a right conclusion upon this point. But there were some extreme cases in which their lordships had given relief to the wife—when the husband, for instance, had been guilty of bigamy or incest—for the reason that in such cases it was impossible for the wife to pardon her husband. These were cases of extremely rare occurrence, but he had introduced a clause to the effect that when they occurred the wife should be entitled to the same relief as the husband—viz., a divorce that would entitle her to marry again.

Now by the bill before the House it is proposed to constitute a tribunal, composed of five members, of whom the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolls shall be three, having entire jurisdiction over cases where a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* is prayed, and empowered to grant a divorce, subject to appeal to the House of Lords. All other matrimonial causes he proposes to send before the Court of Chancery. Evidence will be taken before the Court of Divorce in open court and *vice voce*; and will be taken down by a shorthand writer so as to form a record.

Lord BROUGHAM entirely approved of the bill. Lord CAMPBELL also generally approved of the bill, but suggested that there should be but one court having jurisdiction in these cases. He illustrated the hardships of the present law by the story of a trial for bigamy. It was clearly proved that the prisoner had married another woman while his wife was still living; and, being asked why sentence should not be passed upon him, he said, "My lord, mine is really a hard case, for my wife committed adultery, and not only that, but she married another man, and, as she had taken another husband, I thought I might take another wife." "But," said the judge, "you are quite mistaken. The course you ought to have taken was this:—first, you should have brought an action against the adulterer, to be tried by judge and jury at assizes; then, having obtained a verdict, you should have instituted a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court, and obtained a divorce *a mensa et thoro*. Having done that, you should have petitioned the House of Lords to grant you a divorce, and brought a bill into the house, and proved at the bar of the house that your wife had been guilty of adultery. Then, having obtained the sanction of one branch of the legislature, you should have carried your bill to the House of Commons, and asked them to concur in it; and the House of Commons having concurred in it, you should have obtained the Royal assent; and all this you might have accomplished for 1,000*l*." ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) "Lord bless your honour," returned the prisoner, "I was never worth 20*l*. in all my life." "Well," said the judge, "you must obey the law, and, as you have married another woman while your wife is alive, I must transport you." Cases of this kind frequently happened, and scenes, too, occasionally occurred in Parliament, in connexion with divorce bills, which were degrading to the legislature.

Lord REDESDALE had deliberately come to the conclusion that as the law of the land declared the marriage tie indissoluble, that law ought to be retained. He declared that, practically speaking, the law makes marriage indissoluble, for the means by which it could be dissolved were not accessible to the vast majority of the people. When he was appointed a member of the commission on this subject, he was aware that some new course, in respect to divorce, must in some shape or other be adopted; but when he came to consider the whole bearing of the subject upon the morals of the people, and when he saw what the necessary consequence would be of taking even a slight step in the direction which was contemplated, in the very appointing of the commission, he confessed he felt it his duty to differ in opinion from his fellow-commissioners in the report which they prepared. The House should bear in mind, that what they were proposing to do by this bill would reach the case of the poor man—the man of 20*s*., or even of 20*l*.. A divorce would not be obtainable under this bill except at a very considerable expense. It would not be like the law in Scotland, nor would it throw open the door generally to the people. A court would be appointed, composed of three of the highest judges of the land. The proceedings must not be made too easy, but must be carefully watched. If divorce *a vinculo* must be considered a right, and be made a legal remedy for adultery or bigamy, it would then become necessary to establish inferior and cheaper courts, which, in his opinion, would be a most objectionable course to adopt. He fully agreed as to the inexpediency of the present mode of granting a divorce, and that it ought to be done away with; but his own opinion was that the relief ought not to be extended to any.

Lord St. LEONARD, on the contrary, insisted on the necessity of a change; and declared that in certain cases divorce is strictly just. But he complained of the constitution of the tribunal and the general inefficiency of the bill. Why had they left unconsidered the right of action for criminal conversation, that disgrace and stigma of modern civilisation? It appeared to him that the bill is wholly defective in not dealing with that point; for if the action for damages and the application for dissolution of marriage were brought before the same tribunal, the court, in trying the first, would really be trying the whole question, and would be enabled to decide on the application for a dissolution of marriage almost without additional trouble. There was at present an excuse for the action for damages in the circumstance that that House, speaking generally, would not grant a dissolution of marriage unless damages were first recovered, the recovery of those damages being regarded as a proof that the man had sustained an injury in the opinion of a jury of his countrymen. However, if a new court were to be established with absolute power to grant a separation *a vinculo matrimonii*, he did not see that any excuse for the action for damages would any longer remain.

The LORD CHANCELLOR having replied, the bill was read a second time.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY BILL.

The House went into committee on this bill as amended, beginning with the clauses *de novo*. Mr.

E. DENISON thought that the names of the additional commissioners should be made known.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he would do so before the report was brought up. The several clauses from 2 to 30 inclusive were disposed of.

On clause 31, which provides that colleges may amend statutes with respect to eligibility of fellowships and other emoluments, much discussion took place, and several amendments were moved with a view to the more stringent securing of adherence to the main design of founders' wills. The amendments were, however, all negatived, and the clause was agreed to be practically unaltered.

The next clause (32) was also subjected to a protracted discussion. It proved that a power of veto upon any of the ordinances of the commissioners should be with two-thirds of the governing body.

Mr. E. DENISON feared that this power would enable certain university authorities to frustrate every attempt at reform. He declared himself dissatisfied with so lame and impotent a conclusion to the labours of the commission.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL admitted that the bill had been altered for the worse, but the alterations had been in consequence of the decisions of a majority of the House. It became a question whether such alterations should be made, or no bill at all should be passed, and Government had considered the former course most advisable. He added that the whole object of the alteration would be defeated if the proviso objected to by Mr. Denison were not retained.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER explained that the proposed veto would depend upon the votes of two-thirds of the whole governing body, and not two-thirds of the persons convened.

Sir W. HEATCOTE, in reference to the provision that the veto should be founded upon the declaration that any proposed regulation would be injurious to a college "as a place of learning and education," proposed to omit the latter words, as improperly limiting the rights of the governing body.

On division, this amendment was rejected by 159 to 111. The clause was agreed to, and progress was reported.

MORNING SITTINGS.—It had been arranged between two private members and the Government that two bills which they promote should be taken at a morning sitting on Tuesday; and the Government had also fixed business for Thursday morning. Mr. DISRAELI, on Monday, opposed this course. In the existing state of affairs, he said the country will be dissatisfied should the session be too rapidly terminated. It is early yet; there is no pressure of business. Would not Government wait until the Government is "reconstructed." Sir CHARLES WOOD explained how matters stood; but late in the evening, Mr. Disraeli succeeded in his movement, and the morning sittings were discharged.

Mr. DISRAELI renewed his attack on Thursday. It was proposed to fix the Law Procedure Bill for a morning sitting on Monday. In an opposition speech Mr. Disraeli harangued the House against morning sittings; and it was agreed to postpone the morning sitting on that bill until next Thursday. In the meantime two other bills were fixed for morning sittings next week. Mr. Disraeli then found that another bill was fixed for the following morning at 12 o'clock, and moved that the order be discharged. On a division he was defeated by 131 to 58. The Ministerial members received the announcement with general cheering.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRISON CHAPLAINS.—In Committee of Supply Mr. SPOONER gained a triumph over the Government. In a vote of 351,000*l*. for defraying the expenses of prisons at home, he found an item of 550*l*. "provision for Roman Catholic priests." No such charge had ever been made before, and he should move that it be struck out. Lord PALMERSTON explained that in principle the vote was no novelty. Sir George Grey had, when in office, afforded to the Roman Catholic convicts in Millbank, the comforts of a priest of their own religion, in order that reformation might go on with punishment. That system it was proposed to extend to all Government prisons.—The amendment was opposed by Mr. SCHOLEFIELD, who denounced it as bigotry, by Mr. J. BALL and Mr. LUCAS on Irish grounds; and supported by Mr. ADDERLEY, Mr. W. J. FOX, Mr. HADFIELD, Sir JOHN PARKINGTON, and the amendment was carried against the Government by 158 to 136.—The item was accordingly struck out.

FOREIGN BILLS OF EXCHANGE.—Under the new Stamp Duties foreign bills of exchange are liable to duty. In committee on the bill, Mr. HUME proposed to omit the clause imposing the duty, mainly on the ground that it would shackle commerce. Other members, notably Mr. THOMAS BAKING supported him, urging that our great commercial rival, the United States, wisely refrained from taxing bills of exchange.—Mr. WILSON, Mr. GLYN, and Mr. GLADSTONE explained the true state of the case. By the new scale of duties the stamp on 100*l*. will be reduced 1*d*., instead of 1*s*. 6*d*., and from 1*s*. to 1*s*. 8*d*. upon 500*l*. instead of 4*s*. The bill will remedy the great evil affecting the holders of foreign bills of exchange. As the law now stands, any person holding a bill, purporting to be drawn in the colonies or in foreign parts, but really drawn in London, cannot recover the amount. Unless the proposed law be agreed to, the reductions on home bills of exchange cannot be made. In point of fact by subjecting foreign bills to the duty, the home trade is put on a level with the foreign trade.—On a division, the amendment was rejected by 178 to 110; majority for

Government, 63.—There was no other contest over the bill.

CHURCH RATES.—Mr. PACKE withdrew his bill on church-rates on Wednesday. It was a pro-church-rate measure, upheld the right of the church to the rates, and stood no chance of being carried.

SUGAR IN BREWERIES.—Upon consideration the Government has changed its determination with regard to the use of sugar in breweries; and on Wednesday, in Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. WILSON proposed and carried a resolution permitting its use. The reason which actuated the Government in formerly proposing to prohibit the employment of sugar, was that great frauds on the revenue might be committed; now they have determined to risk the chance of frauds for the benefit of trade. The concession was generally approved.

THE IRISH CHURCH.—Mr. Serjeant SHEE moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the church in Ireland, and to increase the means of religious instruction and church accommodation for the Irish people. The motion was seconded by Mr. POLLARD-URQUHART.—Mr. BROTHERTON moved the adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to.

THE NEW SECRETARY.—In reply to the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, Lord ABERDEEN said that at present Government does not intend to bring in a bill to alter the Act of Anne, which provides that no more than two Secretaries of State shall sit in the House of Commons. Cases may arise, however, in which the statutory limitation will be found inconvenient; and the subject is worth consideration.

THE CITY ELECTION.

The re-election of Lord John Russell for the city of London has not given rise to any excitement; indeed the proceeding has only been raised above one of ordinary routine by the doings of Mr. Urquhart. Lord John issued his address—a simple document—on the 9th June. After stating that he did not feel it necessary to explain his past conduct, as all the facts were before the electors, it proceeded in these words:—

"Her Majesty's Ministers are engaged in the conduct of a great struggle. A mighty military power seeks to overawe Europe, and pretends to set aside the verdict of the civilised world. We have stood against this encroachment, and hope to check its further progress. This contest has absorbed the attention of the people of this country. We all desire a solid, durable, and honourable peace."

There was no question but that he would be returned, as the Liberals were determined to support him. Nor did any one dream of opposition. The public were, therefore, surprised when, on the 12th, Mr. David Urquhart issued the following address, which must have amazed the gentlemen of the city. We print it as a curiosity which our readers will like to possess:—

"In consequence of the art and secrecy with which an anti-national Government has managed this new plot, the city of London is about to be deprived of its constitutional faculty of examining the conduct and character of the individual whom it is required to return as its representative, and of re-asserting its own independence. It is to be constituted a Government borough, and London is to be compromised by a direct act into sanctioning the criminal measures which have led to a sham and collusive war, and which the safety of the realm requires it to impeach and punish.

"Under these circumstances, I am prepared to devote myself, that I may afford to any honest elector the opportunity of recording a vote against personal dishonour and public immorality. The mass of corruption and indifference has not to be considered; it is the presence of virtue and wisdom that has to be tested—if any such exist in the land. These are the qualities by which nations live. Ten just men might have saved Sodom and Gomorrah.

"It is not my wish to come into the present House of Commons. To rescue England from its dangers alike of war and of peace must remain the task of a future Parliament, elected by an aroused and indignant people; but should that revolution already have been lately effected in the breast of London, and should it unexpectedly burst forth, I am ready even to go into the present House of Commons.

"In the other alternative, I afford you the opportunity of pledging your future member, whoever he may be, to test—conditions which shall, as regards the individual, either convert the sham war into a reality, and the approaching sham peace into a settlement, or place perjury in so unmistakable a light as to hasten the falling of the scales from the eyes, which, by happening in time, can alone rescue this empire from destruction.

"Neither time nor circumstances admit of the employment of the ordinary electioneering organisation. I can do in this matter nothing farther than announce my purpose, and appear before you on the day of nomination. If this great occasion is to profit England, it can only be by your spontaneous impulse.

"I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen, your humble and obedient servant," "DAVID URQUHART.

"8, Duke-street, St. James's, June 12, 1854."

Mr. Urquhart made several attempts to address the electors, and to unfold to them the oracles couched in this document, maintaining, for one thing, that we have never declared war against, and that we are not at war with, Russia, and insisting that the whole thing is a sham got up between the parties for the purpose of blinding the people. The Government, he said, were traitors, and ought to be impeached. The electors hissed and laughed at this, which they styled "nonsense;" and Mr. Urquhart found no sort of favour; especially as he interlarded his strange

views on foreign affairs with courageous outbursts of Toryism, and received the support of the Tory prints.

Wednesday was fixed for the day of election, and on that day there was a goodly gathering in the Guildhall. Lord John was proposed by Mr. H. J. Prescott, and seconded by Mr. Dillon, both of whom, of course, heartily concurred in the war, and insisted upon its being carried on until ample, complete, and durable guarantees against future Russian encroachments were obtained. Mr. Sheriff Wire then called upon a gentleman who, it was understood, would propose Mr. Urquhart, but he did not appear. Mr. Urquhart then called upon his supporters to propose him. No answer. Accordingly Lord John Russell was declared to be duly elected member for the city of London. It was then that he made his speech to the electors, which, with the exception of an unimportant explanation on a local subject, related to the war.

"Now, gentlemen, I shall proceed to that which is the absorbing question of the present day—so absorbing, indeed, that measures which I had hoped to forward for increasing and promoting the civil and religious rights of a large portion of my fellow-countrymen have been rather neglected than considered, and have been withdrawn in deference to public opinion rather than opposed by Parliamentary resistance. That great question to which I refer is the war in which we are engaged. (Cheers.) I will not now refer to that which has been discussed in debates with which you are no doubt familiar—namely, the origin of that war. The present Government endeavoured as long as they could to seek for terms of a pacific arrangement, and, gentlemen, I believe that in so doing we were acting in accordance with the opinions of the people of this country. (Loud cheers.) The blessings of peace which we had enjoyed for nearly 40 years were not so trifling that they were to be lightly thrown away or precipitately abandoned. (Cheers.) It was not therefore until we found that the ambition of the Emperor of Russia was not to be satisfied with any moderate concession which the Sultan of Turkey was prepared to make—that we found a determination on the part of the Emperor of Russia, in opposition to remonstrances, in opposition to proposals of every kind, to retain and keep in his power the territory of a neighbour, that we advised the Queen to declare that she felt herself obliged to take up arms in defence of her ally thus unjustly attacked. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, in that declaration we had the co-operation and consent of her Majesty's ally, the Emperor of the French—(Renewed cheers.)—and I trust that this concert on a great question will lead to a permanent alliance with that great people our neighbours, who, with ourselves, form the most civilised and enlightened nations in Europe. (Cheers.) We all know by experience the courage and spirit of the French nation, and I only trust that both nations will display in alliance those qualities which we have hitherto displayed in conflict with each other. (Cheers.)

"But, gentlemen, there were others who were as much interested as England or France in preserving the independence of Europe against the aggressions of an ambitious power,—I mean the great States of Germany. (Cheers.) I believe that while the success of Russia, while her conquest of Turkey, her occupation of Constantinople would have been dangerous to England and to France, they would have been absolute oppression to the people of Germany. (Cheers.) Accordingly the people of Germany have felt that this question could not be indifferent to them, and the principal Sovereigns of Europe, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, have sympathised with their people, and I trust that the war which we are about to carry on will be a war not of two Powers, but of five Powers of Europe against the Emperor of Russia. (Loud cheers.)

"I know there were those who said 'Don't give assistance to the Turks.' They said so for various reasons, and on various pretences. Some said the Turks were a people so barbarous, and that their government was so bad, that we ought not to aid them. I have heard such an argument used in former times, and I believe that the intention of that argument was, not to blame the Turks, not to mend their government, but to abet the designs of the Emperor of Russia. It is easy to assert, and it is not for me to deny, the faults, nay, the mal-administration and in many instances the cruelties which exist under the Government of Turkey, but this was not the time to discuss measures for the reform and improvement of those faults. The question was to resist the aggression of Russia, and I have no doubt but that, if that aggression is successfully resisted, the improvement of Turkish institutions and the happiness of the Christian people living under the Government of the Sultan of Turkey will follow from that resistance and from that success. On the other hand, if the Emperor of Russia were to succeed in his attempt, we must recollect that it would be the success of a government which endeavours to suppress all freedom of thought, and to which neither political, nor religious, nor any kind of liberty can look for encouragement, and that there would be a dead and deadly power hanging over Europe, and at length attacking even our own institutions, as incompatible with the existence of the monstrous tyranny which would then be established. (Loud cheers.)

"Well, now, gentlemen, others say that if the Turks had been left alone, they would have done better for themselves. Why that is the very wish of the Emperor of Russia; he has constantly said, 'This is no business of yours; don't you interfere; only let the Sultan settle his own matters with me; let us have a friendly conference together, and we shall no doubt come to a very amicable termination.' (Laughter.) Why, gentlemen, we thought that, the Emperor of Russia being much the strongest of the two, that amicable termination could not but be injurious to Turkey, and now we find that the Turkish Government have most willingly accepted our aid, and that in instances which I could quote that aid has been most efficient.

"Gentlemen, I now proceed to the mode in which this war is to be carried on. (A voice, 'That's right.') Let me

remark, in the first place, that it was observed by a Member of the House of Commons, and most truly observed, when we were embarking in this war, that it was not a war in which we could expect those advantages which had attended other wars, and that the conquests of islands such, for instance, as Jamaica and Trinidad were not to be achieved from a power like Russia. Indeed, there are none of the possessions of Russia, which, I think, we should be disposed to accept, even if they were offered to us. I am sure there are none which I am disposed to covet. (Cheers.) But there is more than this. We have all venerated the glories of Nelson, of St. Vincent, of Duncan, and of Camperdown; but the victories by which they achieved their fame were victories achieved against an enemy who came out in the open sea to meet them—(loud cheers)—and who in that fair fighting were encountered by the valour and prowess of our admirals and sailors. (Cheers.) We have now to deal with an enemy who encloses his ships in walls of granite, who places them behind stone walls and batteries of guns, and who never ventures to meet Dundas or Napier in the open sea. (Cheers.)

"But if they should show themselves, I have no doubt those gallant admirals would be able, in nautical phrase, to give a good account of these fleets. (Loud cheering.) What they may be able to accomplish, as matters stand, it is not for me, it is not for any one of us to decide. All I know is, that we have given these commands to gallant and skilful admirals; and all that gallantry and skill can do they will accomplish, and that they are worthy sons of England. (Loud cheers.) We therefore ought to rest satisfied that that which can be accomplished they will accomplish; and that that which they leave undone could not be done by human courage or human skill. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, we have done that which has not been done usually in former wars; we have at the very commencement of war sent a land army for the defence of our ally. You all know that our military means are far inferior to those of the great continental monarchies; that we do not call out our 80,000 or 100,000 men by conscription to swell the ranks of our armies; that our armies therefore are slowly raised, raised by voluntary enrolment, and therefore that we never do send armies, nor do I think that the lovers of the constitution would wish that we should send armies of 150,000 or 250,000 men into the field. But even the army that we have sent has already been the means of troops being despatched to a Turkish fortress which was surrendered in the last war to the armies of Russia—I mean the fortress of Varna; and we have thus enabled the brave and able commander of the Turkish forces—(Loud cheers)—to increase his army, and to add a considerable reinforcement to that army, which I trust will enable him to cope with the Russians in the enterprises they are about to undertake.

"Now, gentlemen, I have said to you that I think it should be our endeavour to obtain a durable, a solid, and an honourable peace. (Cheers.) I should be guilty of the greatest presumption, I should be guilty of a breach of the most solemn duty, if I were to say what are the terms which, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, would make that peace honourable, solid, and durable. That is a question not merely for her Majesty's Government, but it has to be decided along with the ally of her Majesty, the Emperor of the French. It has to be concerted with other Powers, if those Powers should, as I hope, stand by our sides in this conflict for the independence of Europe; but more than that, the exact terms of that peace must depend upon the fortune of war, must depend upon the success with which we encounter the embattled legions of Russia. My hope is that this war will meet with the success which from its objects and from its motives it deserves; but this I will say, that no insufficient peace ought to be made—that we ought not to lay down our arms until we have obtained security for the future—(loud cheers)—that having made the great exertions which we have made—that having had our eyes opened to the designs of Russia, and the other nations of Europe having likewise had their eyes opened to those designs—we should be the most silly of mortals if we were to sign an insecure peace, which would leave it to our present enemy to bide his time until by the dissensions of the other Powers, and by the weakness of some of those Powers, he should find a better opportunity of accomplishing his designs. (Cheers.) Let us consider for a moment what that design is. I will give it from no unfair interpretation of that which has been said by the Emperor of Russia himself. It is that the Principalities which he occupies, and Bulgaria, should be held under his protection; it is that Constantinople itself should not be occupied either by its present Government or by any free Government which could harbour those who might be considered as his enemies; it is therefore that Constantinople, like St. Petersburg and Warsaw, should be subject to Russian protection and to Russian influence. (Cheers.) I say to you at once that such a consummation would be fatal to the liberties of Europe. I ask you to oppose such a consummation. I believe that British hearts, British courage, and British means are equal, in conjunction with our allies, with the sympathies of Europe, and not only of Europe, but of the whole world, to achieve success, and I earnestly pray that God may give the victory to her Majesty's arms for that purpose. (Loud cheers.)

The meeting wound up with three cheers for Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Napier. After the sheriff had left the hall, Mr. Urquhart attempted to speak, but for a long time the polite audience would not listen to him. When he did manage to make his voice heard, he said:—"I want only one word. I want to tell you that you have carried your election, and lost the chance of saving your country. (Laughter.) Russia can only be attacked through her instruments. Those instruments are the cabinets and statesmen of Europe; and in this country especially the instruments of Russia are the present Cabinet and the tool you have just elected." A burst of laughter from those who heard this sentence greeted its conclusion; and the scene closed.

OPENING OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

The grand building which stands on Penge-hill, overlooking the palace of the Queen, and the vast of London, which it is fashionable to call the "People's Palace," but the portal of which cant and bigotry will not permit to be unfolded on the People's Day—Sunday, was formally opened by Queen Victoria on Saturday, the 10th June. Great was the pomp, grand the music, British the enthusiasm, and the roughly British also the tediousness. The sun shone as he always does, like a respectful centre of the universe, when the Queen of the British section of our all-important ant-hill goes forth to do any great thing before the eye of day. From morn till dew eve all was stir and bustle. The base of operations for the popular army was the metropolis; the line, any and every road leading to Penge-hill; the means of transport, any and every means available to the fortunate holders of season tickets, and the object a seat in the Crystal Palace. Of course crowds of eight-seers lined the roads, and gathered at the west front of the building, cheering as notables came up—especially when the Turkish ambassador brought to mind other assemblages, not for so pleasant and so peaceful a purpose, on the slopes of the Balkan. Standing on the leads above the west front, the delighted spectator took in at a glance a splendid prospect, with smoky London in the distance, and below the pleasant valley of Dulwich, alive with streams of carriages, from the Lord Mayor's mighty vehicle to the huck cab, containing some happy, white-waistcoated youth, with geranium in button-hole, and fluttering at heart. On they came in throngs, while, with white pennons streaming behind, the long trains from London-bridge swept up with steady pace on the eastern side of the building. By one o'clock the anxious spectators—two long lines before them—were in their places. The hour of three o'clock has arrived, the flourish of trumpets announces the approach of her Majesty, the royal party occupies the dais, and the *comp d'honneur* presented in the building is complete. As her Majesty and the youthful princes and princesses and other members of the royal family stand grouped in admirable order on the dais, they form a tableau of the most artistic and effective character. In the centre stands her Majesty, attired in a light blue dress, an elegant light white shawl and bonnet. On her left, in the scarlet uniform of a field marshal, with the ribbon of the Garter, stands Prince Albert; and upon her right, in a uniform of dark blue and gold, is his Majesty the King of Portugal. On the right of his Majesty stand the Duchess of Kent, the youthful Duc d'Orpère, in uniform of blue and gold, and by his side the Princess Royal, with a delicate rose pink dress and white mantilla. On the left of Prince Albert stand the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, each attired in the blue and white naval dress, next stands the venerable Duchess of Cambridge, by her side the Princess Alice in rose pink and white, and the Princess Mary, in a robe of a more sombre colour. Behind the royal personages are seen the glittering uniform of a marshal of Portugal, worn by the Duke of Terceira, his left breast covered with the stars of six orders of knighthood, and wearing also the cordon of a seventh order; the glittering official uniforms of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, Lord Camoys, the lord-in-waiting, and the other lords and equerries, and officers of the household. Near them are seen the varied colours of the rich dresses of the ladies of the household. On the floor, at the left of the dais, are standing Lord John Russell, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Palmerston, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir J. Graham, Sir C. Wood, Earl Granville, Sir W. Molesworth, and other members of the Government, in their Windsor uniforms of blue and gold; and the Archbishop of Canterbury in his lawn robes. Upon the right are grouped Mr. Laing, M.P., the chairman of the Crystal Palace Company, in the uniform of a deputy-lieutenant; Mr. Francis Fuller, the managing director, and the other directors and officers of the company in court dresses or scarlet gowns. The varied picturesque costumes of the diplomatic corps are also on the right of the dais. At the back of the dais rise the seats of the orchestra. Madame Clara Novello, Signori Lablache and Tagliacoco, and Messrs. Loeffler and Costa occupy the lower series; 1500 vocal and instrumental male and female performers are upon the higher benches; and the scarlet dresses of the military bands on the highest seats, with a row of small bannerets, fringe the upper portion, reaching far beyond the first gallery. Each angle of the galleries and nave is filled with the *élite* of the aristocracy, members of the Houses of Lords and Commons; the floor of the transept is covered by a dense and motley mass—mayors, metropolitan and provincial, in their scarlet robes, wondering why, speci-

ally invited to the feast, they have not been inducted into the principal and more prominent seats; aldermen, with purple and miniver, common-councilmen in their plain robes, city officers in their quaint costumes, military men in scarlet coats and white breeches, naval officers in blue uniforms, ladies in all the brightest and gayest of colours; the "lords of creation," in that wretched sombre-looking attire which marks alike the valet and well-dressed gentleman; and long rows of policemen, with their dark and shiny head-gear—a sort of compromise between a hat and a helmet. The lower galleries of the transept are crowded with a select assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, and seated on benches and chairs on each side of the north and south naves, amid flowers and statues, are also ranged a vast number of anxious spectators, ordinary season ticket-holders, and industrial exhibitors.

We can but state that the National Anthem was sung—its effect from that grand orchestra, who shall convey in words? Clara Novello sang the solo parts, and eight hundred voices swelled the chorus. The music pealed through the beautiful building; and susceptible heads were moved to tears. This noble performance over the tedious performance began. Mr. Laing read a too long address, telling everybody what everybody knew; namely, how, why, and for what the Crystal Palace had been built—with especial compliments to Prince Albert for having so kindly originated the great show in 1851. Then the Queen in brief terms thus replied:—

"I receive with much pleasure the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me upon the present occasion."

"It is a source of the highest gratification to myself and to the prince, my consort, to find that the Great Exhibition of 1851, which was so happily inaugurated under our auspices, suggested the idea of this magnificent undertaking which has produced so noble a monument of the genius, science, and enterprise of my subjects."

"It is my earnest wish and hope that the bright anticipations which have been formed as to its future destiny may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be completely realised; and that this wonderful structure, and the treasures of art and knowledge which it contains, may long continue to educate and instruct, as well as to delight and amuse, the minds of all classes of my people."

After this, in succession, announced by speeches, the authors of the handbooks were presented to the Queen. They were Sir Joseph Paxton, Mr. Owen Jones, Mr. Digby Wyatt, Mr. Samuel Phillips, Mr. Ferguson, Professor Owen, Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, Dr. Latham, Mr. Gould, Mr. Thompson, and Professor Forbes. While this part of the ceremony was in progress, the vast assemblage amused themselves by watching the manner in which the blushing authors of the handbooks went through the difficult process of retiring from the royal presence down two flights of steps without turning their backs. Sir Joseph Paxton, in designing the dais, had probably not foreseen the formidable obstacle he was raising in the path of loyal gentlemen unaccustomed to perform such courtly evolutions with small swords slung by their sides, or perhaps he intended it as likely to afford some practical fun by way of set-off to the chairman's speeches, which, however well expressed and just, nobody could hear. Happily all came down safely, though two of three had very narrow escapes, and one distinct case of stumbling was followed by a precipitate and unceremonious retreat, much to the amusement of the spectators.

At length it was over. Then the procession formed, Mr. Boleshaw leading the way. First came the superintendents of works and principal employees, then the contractors, the architects, the officers of departments, the directors, and then the Queen, the Prince, the Portuguese princes, the royal children, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cabinet Ministers, and the Foreign Ministers. A spectator thus describes its progress:—

"The long cortege winds its slow and silent way. No enlivening music or stirring march proceeded from the regimental bands or powerful orchestra. How different in this respect was the procession in Hyde-park, as organ after organ pealed forth its joyous notes as the regal procession approached. As the procession advances down the eastern side of the south nave, the varied colours gradually blend in the distance into indistinct forms of radiant brilliancy. It returns by the west side, and masses of scarlet and gold, and blue and gold, and glittering decorations mark the positions of the numerous diplomatic corps, the members of the Government, and of the household of her Majesty. On it passes round the west side of the central transept, her Majesty stepping aside for a moment into the open colonnade to admire the grounds and terraces; still it passes by the west side of the north nave, by the gorgeous facades of Mr. Wyatt's courts, round the Sphinx avenue, by the startling Assyrian bulls, the charming Alhambra, the facades of the Colosseum and Parthenon, and the Scythian decorations of Egypt; and all the way the procession moves amid long arrays of loyal subjects, the fairer portion curtsy their homage and the gentlemen shout their loyalty, her Majesty with a grateful feeling which never flags, and a dignity which seems to know no fatigue, acknowledges the expressions of devoted attachment; and her consort calmly but earnestly bows his recognition of the warm and hearty homage. The dais is again reached, her Majesty and the royal party are grouped as before, Cabinet Ministers and diplomatic officers occupy their former position, and Costa has awakened from

the lull into which, with the orchestra, he had fallen after the first performance of the National Anthem."

Costa's work was to conduct the mighty orchestra through the simple mazes of the grand Old Hundredth Psalm, as a preface to the following prayer by the Primate:—

"Almighty and everlasting God! who dost govern all things both in heaven and earth, incline Thine ear, we entreat Thee, to Thy people, which call upon Thee, and graciously receive our prayers. Without Thee nothing is strong, nothing is holy. 'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost who build it.' And now we entreat Thee to bless the work which we have accomplished in this place, and to render it the means of promoting Thy glory. May those who admire the wonders of nature which are here displayed be taught to perceive in those the vigour of that creative wisdom by which all things fulfil the purposes which they are designed to serve. Enable those who survey the wonders of art and industry which surround them to remember that it is by Thee that knowledge is increased, and science made to minister to the benefit and comfort of mankind; for the spirit of man is from Thee, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding; therefore 'not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name be all the praise.' Whilst we contemplate the remains of former ages and the monuments of ancient greatness, enable us to profit by the examples they afford of the instability of earthly things, and ever to bear in mind that according to Thy providence nations flourish or decay; that Thou hast but to give the word and the richest may become poor, and the proudest levelled into dust. Therefore, O Lord, we entreat Thee so to regulate the thoughts of our hearts that they may not be lifted up, that we forget the Lord our God, as if our power or the might of our hands had gotten us this wealth. It cometh of Thine hand, and is all Thine own; both riches and honour come of Thee; and Thou reignest over all, and in Thy hand it is to make great and to give strength unto all. Now, therefore, O Lord, we thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious name, and beseech Thee to grant that the many blessings vouchsafed to our nation may dispose our hearts to serve Thee more faithfully, and in all that we undertake to seek Thy honour and glory. Above all, teach us to use the earthly blessings Thou givest us richly to enjoy, that they may not withdraw our affections from those heavenly things that Thou hast prepared for those that love and serve Thee through the merits and mediation of Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose prevailing name and words we further call on Thee."

The "Hallelujah Chorus" pealing grandly through the building, was sung; and as it died away, the Marquis of Breadalbane stepped forward and said:

"I am commanded by her Majesty to declare this palace opened."

This was a signal for great and mighty cheering; and amid the pulmonary efforts of her subjects the Queen and her party glided away. The ceremony was over; the palace was opened; the group broke up; the barriers were removed; and soon every avenue was, for a short time, crowded with gazers. Refreshments were not to be had. During the ceremony they had been eaten up. Despairing of obtaining more substantial refreshments, a large proportion of the visitors, who had for the previous five or six hours been crowded together in an atmosphere strongly reminding one of the tropics, were permitted to roam at leisure through the grounds, and enjoy the refreshing breezes, which, happily, the directors could not retail from the surrounding hills and richly wooded country. The bands of the Grenadier Guards, the Coldstreams, and the Crystal Palace, continued to enliven the scene until dusk by selections of music from Meyerbeer, Bellini, Kohl, Flotow, and other favourite composers.

There were no accidents. In one place a seat gave way; and ladies shrieked, but no damage was done. A boy, too, fired a cannon as a train passed; the wadding went through the window, and through the hat of an M.P.; but fortunately injured no one.

Some extracts from Mr. Routledge's handbook will give an idea of the size and structure:—

"The Crystal Palace stands nearly north and south, on the summit of the Penge-hill, its length being 1608 feet, its greatest breadth at the central transept 384, and at the smaller transepts 336 feet. The general width of the body of the building, between the transepts, including the glazed and open corridors, is 312 feet. In the old building the greatest width was 456 feet, and at the transept it was 408 feet. The ground upon which the building stands slopes very much towards the park, and rows of brick piers are run up to support the front rows of columns. The nave consists of a grand avenue, nearly double the width of the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, and more than three times its length; it is 72 feet wide, and 1008 feet long, and crosses the transepts at right angles. At a height of 68 feet from the floor, there springs a semi-cylindrical vault, 72 feet in diameter, which stretches away from one end of the nave to the other. The central transept has a vaulted roof of 120 feet span, extending for a length of 384 feet. The span of this noble arch is about 20 feet larger than that of St. Peter's at Rome, and nearly 40 feet greater than that of St. Paul's in London. The space covered by this colossal vault is considerably larger than the whole Minster at York. The walls of St. Paul's Cathedral are 14 feet thick—those of the Crystal Palace 8 inches; St. Paul's was thirty-five years in building—the People's Palace has been constructed in little more than twice as many weeks. At a distance of 528 feet on each side of the central transept the nave is intersected by the two smaller transepts, each of which are, however, of the same dimensions as that which formed the great feature of the late Exhibition building. They are 72 feet in diameter, and spring from the same height as the vaulted roof

of the nave, that is 68 feet. At the point of intersection of the nave with the end transepts the roof is flat, and forms a parallelogram of 72 feet square. On each side of the nave are aisles of 24 feet in width, formed by the columns which support a portion of the building. Beyond these first aisles, and parallel with them at a distance of 48 feet, are second aisles, 48 feet in height, and again beyond these, and at the same distance, are third aisles of the same width and height. At alternate distances of 72 feet and 24 feet, columns project 8 feet into the nave, which, continued up nearly to the roof, support an upper gallery, which runs completely round the building, and sustain also the arched girders which carry the semi-circular roof of the nave. A gallery, 24 feet in width, runs entirely round the building, on the sides nearest the exterior and round four courts, 48 by 120 feet, which abut on the central transept. This lower gallery is reached by eight double staircases, four being placed at each portion of the building, divided by the central transept. From the first or lower gallery, access is obtained to the upper 8 feet gallery by eight spiral staircases, one being placed at each end of the three transepts, and one at each end of the building. The second tier of columns supports in the transepts only a platform, or landing-place, 24 feet in width and 72 feet in length, with the exception of the larger one in the centre, the length of which is 120 feet; and from these platforms a continuation of the spiral staircase leads to the second and upper galleries. The passage along this gallery is through a series of ring or 'bull's eye' girders, 7 feet in diameter, resting upon the columns which project into the nave, at alternate distances of 24 and 72 feet."

The palace, exclusive of the wings, is supported on the ground floor by 968 columns, secured in their position by a nearly equal number of cast and wrought iron girders; the former building in Hyde-park rested upon 1060 columns, or 92 more than the present edifice. The second tier of the building is formed of 898 columns, and the third of 340 columns. The entire length of the building is occupied by 68 columns, placed 24 feet apart; and at intervals of eight feet between these columns are placed half columns of wood, of the same form and appearance as the iron columns, and being 136 in number on each side of the building. The greatest number of columns in the direction of the breadth of the building is 17, and there are six rows of those near the central transepts. In every part of the building the columns are placed either at distances of 24 feet apart, or multiples of that number. The columns which project into the nave are 8 feet, or one-third of 24 feet; in the larger courts, they are so placed as to form courts of 48 by 72; the nave and end transepts are colonnades of 72 and 120 feet, and the wings of the building range in width from between 32, 48, and 96 feet, and they are each 576 feet in length. At the points of connexion with the main building the wings are 96 by 24 feet; they then assume the dimensions of 72 by 48 feet. Next, a long avenue of 384 feet in length (the same as the great transept) by 32 feet in width. Each wing terminates in a cross of 96 by 48 feet at the centre of intersection; and on the summit of the wings are water-tanks 48 feet square, capable of containing 800 tons of water."

It is indeed a great and truly British work. Except, perhaps, the Britannia tubular bridge, there is nothing in this country which conveys so sublime an idea of what we can accomplish. It is, with its wings included, 3,476 feet in length, or about three-quarters of a mile from end to end, being thus 1,928 feet longer than the old palace in Hyde-park. Its cubic capacity is greater than that of its original by one-half. It has a superficial area on the ground floor and galleries of 843,656 feet. The Monument, placed under the superb recessed arch of the grand transept, would not reach within two yards of its summit; the glass roof would cover 25 acres of ground, and the pines which give the entire structure its crystal title would, if placed end to end, extend 242 miles. If you were to stretch out in the same way the light columns which lift the ethereal fabric to the sky, they would measure more than 16 miles. The type of a new order of architecture, in which strength and lightness are wonderfully combined with mathematical regularity of proportions—its vitreous side walls are 1-13th of an inch thick. The pillars, which look so frail and are so strong, are hollow like the bones of a bird, and few of the thousands who traversed the floor on Saturday were aware that beneath their feet lay 50 miles of piping, ramified like an arterial system, to feed with vital heat the vegetation around them.

From an official return we learn that the number of season tickets disposed of previously to the opening was 20,157. It appears also, on the same authority, that there were admitted on the 12th inst. 2096 5s. visitors, and 2685 season-ticketholders, making a total of 4781. On the 13th, which was wet, 1847 5s. visitors, and 1838 season-ticketholders, making a total of 3685. On the 14th, which was dry, but rather overcast, 2641 5s. visitors, and 2920 season-ticketholders, making a total of 5561. On Thursday, which was exceedingly wet, foggy, and disagreeable out of doors, 1413 5s. visitors, and 1229 season-ticketholders, making a total of 2642. Yesterday the company gave a grand fête to the Foreign Commissioners, who honoured the opening with their presence; and they are preparing to invite to London, during the present summer, the municipalities of Paris and of the other great towns in France. A subscription has been set on foot for the purpose; the proposal, we are told, meets with the warm approbation of the Government, the approaching hospitalities being intended as a return for those extended to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London and to the Royal Commissioners in 1851.

THE WAR.

RECENT Russian movements to the rear and reported movements of the Austrian troops carry the war on to more extended fields. It is remarked that simultaneously with the cessation of active measures against Silistria three things have occurred. First, the Russians have established a tête de pont, at Kulanja, a little below Silistria, to serve as a means of retreat; next, the Prince Paskiewitch has removed his headquarters to Jassy, where he was to be on the 13th instant; and, thirdly, that small bodies of Russians on the Sereth had made retrograde movements. These small matters derive their importance from two facts; the arrival of the French and British north of the Balkan, and the march of the Austrians in great force from the Danube into Transylvania, and the concentration of a great army in and near Galicia. Probably there are not less than 200,000 Austrians in line stretching along the rugged mountains of Transylvania, looking out over the Principalities and the Bukovina, and gathering in masses in the lower lands of Moravia and Galicia. On the other hand, the Russians are certainly in force on the Austrian frontier, menacing Moravia, looking into Transylvania, and ready to overrun the Bukovina. Either Prince Paskiewitch, therefore, anticipates a movement of the Austrians in his rear, and is about to escape as fast as he can, or he is about to evacuate the Principalities for political reasons; or he is establishing a new line of operations, in anticipation of the combined movement of the allies. At all events he is strengthening his communications with the Russian army posted between the frontiers of Moldavia and Warsaw. It is to Austria we must look for the next move.

No change appears to have taken place at Silistria or at Schumla. But the authentic reports from Varna announcing the arrival of the light division there on the 30th and 31st of May, and its subsequent encampment at Devna, a place thirty miles from Schumla, and sixty-six from Silistria; and the certainty that all the British troops, horse, foot, and artillery, are now in line, make us feel certain that in a few days there will be some definite news of operations in the front. For, of course, a far larger contingent of French must be on the spot by this time.

We have no news of the progress of affairs in Lesser Wallachia; but we may be sure the troops operating there have not been withdrawn, as reported, to form a division at Rutchuck for operating upon the besiegers at Silistria.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

Two events at Constantinople, subsidiary to the war, but important in themselves, call for notice—a diplomatic dinner given by Lord Stratford, and a review at Scutari for the gratification of the Sultan. Lord Stratford's dinner was attended by the Duke of Cambridge, Reschid Pacha, Habi Pacha, and the new Grand Vizier, probably the first time that a Grand Vizier ever accepted an invitation given by one of the members of the diplomatic body; a notable breach of Turkish etiquette. The dinner lasted until a late hour, and several toasts were given. Reschid Pacha proposed the Queen's health, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe that of the Emperor of France. Baron de Bruck, in proposing the health of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, made a very remarkable speech, in which he wished success to the allies in defending the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire.

The review took place at Scutari. The troops were under the command of Lord Raglan. It was a very hot day, and the troops were under arms waiting four hours for the Sultan. There were on the field three regiments of Guards, two Highland regiments, five of the line, the 17th Lancers, and some artillery; in all about 10,000 men. The Sultan, relaxing from his usual sadness and gravity, seemed much pleased and really astonished at the novelty of the sight. The troops all marched past his Imperial Majesty. The Lancers, with Lord Cardigan at their head, who looked the very picture of a cavalry officer, especially attracted his attention, and he expressed himself highly gratified by the sight. "When Abdul Medjid arrived on the ground," says the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, "a rather extraordinary occurrence took place, especially so for this loyal land. A dervish stepped out from amongst the crowd, and, approaching the Sultan, shouted something. I was not near enough to catch the words, but, from the effect they produced, I conclude that they were the contrary of complimentary. I was afterwards told that he called him 'Giasur Padishah.' The cavasses laid hold of this bold and impudent fanatic, and he was hurried off the ground amidst a shower of kicks and cuffs, one man dragging him along by the neck, whilst others belaboured him behind in a manner which was truly piteous to behold—an example to dervishes henceforth. I do not know whether the individual in question was a dancing dervish, but I can vouch for his being a howling one."

We have some direct testimony respecting the condition of the cavalry and artillery at Scutari, from a Prussian officer, who visited their quarters. He says, "the cavalry is first-rate; you could not see by those horses that they had been for weeks on board ship. There they stood, combed and well-fed, pawing the clean floor as if they were at home in their old-quarters. They seemed as if they were at the charge. Whoever, like myself, has seen the Russian cavalry in the field may well prognosticate favourably for the British,

if engaged with equal numbers, even without taking the superiority of the English horseman into consideration." The only fault we find is, that the horses are, "if anything, too big and too strong," and that the men are forced to shave. In the field, he says, the razor is the arm which most troubles a soldier. He is pleased with the arms of the men, in ecstasies with the harness of the cavalry, and thinks that the artillery are too well horsed. He feels certain from his knowledge of the British cavalry and artillery, that he can look forward to every success in the present war, whilst his "knowledge of the enemy's artillery by no means prognosticates such a result."

So much for the Prussian. Let us now hear no small matter of complaint from the *Times* correspondent respecting the tools supplied to the troops:—"It may be as well to let the authorities know that the tools issued to the men are all but useless. The hatchets, bill-hooks, and axes furnished to the men of the various regiments would be much more serviceable if they would only cut, but they have yielding edges, which obstinately refuse to keep sharp or straight. The soldiers complain of them loudly, and it will not make these utensils one bit more useful to produce bushels of certificates or letters from generals, commissaries, or toolmakers, declaring that nothing could be better. Let them come and try to chop wood (to boil their cooking tins) with them, and the authorities will soon alter their opinions as to these Government supplies. No one who has not had practical experience of camp life can imagine the annoyance caused by such a circumstance as this, or the real discomfort it originates in carrying out the details of a life under canvas. In the same way that most indefatigable and invaluable body of men, the Sappers and Miners, are impeded in their labours not only by the tools they have being frequently indifferent, but, what is worse, by the want of the implements which they ought to carry." [This is the echo of a complaint which was loud and long during the Peninsular war. An explanation of it is given by "Bernard Gilpin, an edge-tool manufacturer," in a letter to the *Times*. He states that the prices given under the Government contracts are 50 per cent. below what articles of good quality can be supplied at, so as to leave the manufacturer a profit of 5 per cent.]

A retailer of sundries, who has established himself at Gallipoli, and who has dignified himself with the title of "merchant," has made a rapid fortune, which he owes to the artistical talents of a captain of the French staff. The retailer being in want of a sign, the captain painted him the figures of a Zouave and a Highlander, each in the full uniform of his corps, each with a glass of wine in the one hand and grasping his companion by the other, in the act of *trinquering* with great cordiality. This picture, though rather hastily sketched, and though not particularly brilliant in some of its details, has had the most decided success among the soldiers of both armies, and has produced a greater and better sensation than would have been accomplished by the paintings of the greatest masters whose works are preserved in the Louvre or the National Gallery. There has been a run on the picture. Turkish pashas, English officers, and Armenian merchants have proposed to purchase it at any price, but the fortunate possessor has refused to part with it, and has announced his determination to transport his sign, as a trophy and the origin of his fortune, to Varna, or wherever else the allied troops may take up their quarters.

Here is a curious picture of the Turkish army from the clothing point of view. On the morning of the 24th instant, Omar Faiz Pacha, the military governor of Varna, ordered all the officers of his garrison down to the saluting battery on the sea line. They "fell in" to ranks, and marched down two and two by battalions, to the wonder of any Europeans who saw the manoeuvre. The officers ranged themselves up by ranks opposite the parapet, upon which stood the Pacha. His Excellency, who was dressed in a pilot cloth peacock and drab pantaloons, addressed his audience. He said that foreign troops, their allies, were about to come to Varna; that particular orders must be given to all sentinels to salute officers of the foreign armies as though they belonged to the Turkish army; that every feeling of friendliness must be shown to the troops; that they must live together as one family; and much more to the same effect, which was "in-audible in the gallery." The motive for making the harangue was most excellent, and the address redounds much to the credit of the Pacha; but the manner of it strikes a European eye as ridiculous. Even a civilian, in England or in France, would look upon a body of officers marching down two and two, and occasionally marking time, as if they were in a strong tide-way, and couldn't make head against it, as rather a ludicrous sight. But with Turks it is still more so, owing to their want of uniformity of dress—one officer likes drab pantaloons, another white with pink stripes, a third light blue, and so forth. Among the Egyptian officers some appear to think that a coffee-coloured coat is the most martial garb they could adopt—others black with braid all over, even down to the small of the back. "Motley's your only wear" for your soldier, they think. It is therefore rare to see two dressed quite alike. The Turkish clothing regulations, if such a code exists for the army, must be rather a curious work.

No further light has been thrown upon the meeting of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia at Teschen. What they conferred about, and what they did not confer about, we are not informed; but the *Moniteur* tells us that "the Austrian Government congratulates itself with respect to the results of the interviews at Teschen." The results here referred to are as yet unknown. Not so the resolutions adopted by the representatives of the eight petty states that met at Bamberg. The most prominent are, first, the strong expression of a desire that a more conciliatory, or, in plainer words, submissive and deprecatory tone should be employed towards Russia than pervades the documents of which copies have been laid before the Germanic States; secondly, that an unequivocal acknowledgment should be made of the eminent services rendered to Germany by the Emperor Nicholas and Russia during many years; thirdly, that it should be notified and declared by all Ger-

man States that they cannot admit the equity of calling upon Russia to evacuate the Principalities without, at the same time, demanding the simultaneous evacuation of the Black Sea, Turkish waters, and territories by the land and sea forces of France and England. It is further resolved that the court should render their adhesion and satisfaction of these reserves, that the same should be adopted as the expression of the will and sentiments of the Confederation, and that a standing committee of diet should be appointed to watch over the march of events, and take part, in the name of the Confederation, in all negotiations for the attainment and arrangement of peace now or hereafter.

Referring again to the *Moniteur*, we are told that "the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin are agreed as to the reply to be made to the objections of the Conference of Bamberg, and as to the means of obviating the difficulties which those objections excite. Colonel Manteuffel is about to set off for St. Petersburg, and will be the bearer of a despatch from the Prussian Cabinet in support of the summons addressed to Russia by Austria."

The *Moniteur* quotes the following story from the *Frankfort Journal*:—"It is asserted that the Emperor of Austria expressed himself in the following manner, in presence of the Duke of Gotha: 'I give you my word that if the Emperor of Russia does not evacuate the Principalities, I will declare war to him.' The Duke having asked if he might repeat the words, the Emperor replied, 'You may repeat them to whomever would like to hear them.' It is also said that the instructions of General Mayerhofer are calculated for a premature rupture of peace."

Austrian troops are marching with all expedition to positions in which they effectually menace the Russian line of operation. The 9th, 11th, and 12th corps of infantry, and the 1st corps of cavalry, composed of twelve regiments of heavy horse, are already in Transylvania, under command of the Archduke Albrecht, who has removed his headquarters from Semlin to Hermannstadt. On the confines of Servia there remains only the division of Count Cossini with the usual regiments of military border columns, or *Grenzer*.

The 11th of June was observed as the festival of the Prince of Prussia's "Silver Wedding," that is to say, the 25th anniversary of his marriage-day. The demonstrations on the occasion have a political significance, as being understood in the country in the sense of demonstrations against the Russian party. On the 11th the Prince remained at his chateau of Habertsberg, near Potsdam, apparently to avoid demonstrations on the part of the Berlin people; but on that day the whole Ministry and the officers of the army paid their respects to him. In the evening Berlin was illuminated. On the following morning he was surrounded by a society of amateur ladies and gentlemen. Later in the day he received about seventy deputations from the provinces and the local committees of the National Dank (a fund for erecting a sort of Prussian Chelsea Hospital); and it was remarked, that a very numerous deputation came from Pomerania, the stronghold of the Russian party. These provincial deputations were followed by deputations from every municipal corporation throughout the kingdom, with the Ober-burgmeister or Burgmeister at its head, and an inevitable address. Among these Berlin distinguished itself by an offering of a votive tablet of solid silver, on which is chiselled in *bas relief* the portraits of the princely couple, with a legend commemorative of the occasion engraved by the side and around them. The tablet is said to weigh 2 cwt., and to be worth 12,000 thalers. Cologne presents an album, consisting of 80-odd works of the most talented artists on the Rhine. This book is supported on a silver stand, like a camp-stool, and is stated to have cost 18,000 thalers.

Orders have been issued by the Central Military Chancery that the troops which have to occupy the frontiers of Galicia must be in their positions by the 15th of this month. Provision is made in Galicia for 120,000 men and 40,000 horses. In the Austrian army there are 63 fusilier regiments, consisting of one depot and four field battalions. Each of the field battalions has 1278 men; consequently, each regiment consists (without the depot battalion) of 5112 men. If we multiply 5112 by 63, we have a total of 322,056 men. The term of military service is eight years, and, after the men are discharged, they enter the so-called "reserve" for two years. The whole of the reserve, which is equal to one-fourth of the regular standing army, has now been called out. Within the last few days an order has been given to form a grenadier battalion, 800 strong, out of the best men in each regiment, and to fill up the vacancies in the other battalions with men taken from the reserve. The 63 newly-formed grenadier battalions will consist of 50,400 men.

Every city throughout the kingdom has presented 1000 thalers to the National Dank (it being understood that this is peculiarly agreeable to the Prince), every town 500, and every hamlet 250 thalers.

Next followed deputations from all the various public bodies for charitable or economic purposes with which the Prince is connected as patron or otherwise, and all imaginable trades' societies. The courts of law decided at the eleventh hour in sending a written address, and not appearing in person; the Academy of Sciences appeared by its senate and professors; the University was represented by the rector and deacons. The last was an indistinguishable swarm of lady deputations, whose name was legion, presenting all sorts of carpets, embroidery, silver wreaths, and everything that could be possibly twisted or turned into a connexion with the subject of the day's commemoration.

The Prince and Princess met with a capital reception in the evening, when walking in their garden.

The Greeks seem to have settled their affairs for the present. The new Ministry, which now only awaits the arrival of Mavrocordato, has issued a proclamation, framed with the very best feelings towards the Western Powers, and calling on the people to remain strictly neutral in the

present contest. The king has granted an amnesty to those officers who have exceeded their term of leave, or "have abandoned without our authorisation their posts in order to take part in the events above-mentioned, as also to those officers whose resignations have been accepted at their demand, occasioned by the same events, provided that within the term of one month from the date of the promulgation of the present ordinance they present themselves before a military authority of the kingdom. Those who belong to this last category shall be reinstated in their rank." The Ministers who signed this decree, and who issued the proclamation, are:—G. Canaris, D. Kallergi, P. Argyropoulos, E. Palamides, G. Paylla, P. Calligas. The insurrection, which has been suppressed in Epirus, is being gradually extinguished in Thessaly. On the 9th of May, however, a large body of insurgents surrounded a Turkish detachment near Kallabaka, and completely routed them, capturing five pieces of cannon in good condition, two stands of colours, munitions of war, clothing, the whole of their stores, their wounded, and their tents.

"A perfectly authentic letter from Serajevo, of May 24," says the *Moniteur*, "states that the Montenegrins have invaded the district of Gatzko. Their plan of campaign is the work of Colonel Kovalevski, and of those Russian officers who are among them. It consists in making irruptions in force into those districts which are bare of troops, in ravaging them and carrying off the weekly convoys of munition or provisions. Some Montenegrins have thus captured, near Nevesin, and only fifteen miles from Mostar, some rains of munition, which they pillaged, massacring the escorts. This raid proves that they are pushing their incursions into the very heart of the Herzegovina. The Christian population of Bosnia shows a spirit of order and moderation which has not wavered from the beginning of the crisis; and at this moment it is no more excited by the events of which Herzegovina is the theatre than it was by the insurrection in Thessaly and Epirus." A letter from Scutari says: "On the 21st of this month 400 Montenegrins advanced to Podgoriza, as far as a spot called the Vizier's Bridge. They attacked a corps of Albanians, who repulsed them after a combat of some hours. The next day, the 22nd, another set of Montenegrins, 800 strong, crossed the river Moratcha, and attacked a fortified farmhouse, their object being to carry off the live stock. This time also they were repulsed, and they left on the place five of their men. The Albanians lost only one man."

All Paris went on the 9th instant to the close of the first agricultural exhibition which has ever been held in Paris. The Emperor and Empress were present, and were loudly cheered.

The *Moniteur de l'Armée* announces that a fifth division of infantry for the army of the East is being organised, under the orders of General Charles Le Vaillant. Its two brigades are to be commanded by Generals de la Motterouge and Conston, and to be composed of the 21st, 42nd, and 46th Regiments of the Line and the 5th Regiment of Light Infantry. Two batteries of artillery and a company of engineers are to be attached to the division. The brigade of General de la Motterouge has already arrived at Toulon, and will be shortly embarked.

The feast of the Constitution was kept by the Danes on the 5th of June. But in order to celebrate it the inhabitants of Copenhagen were compelled to emigrate from their capital to a distance of six long miles in the wood. To this, however, they cheerfully submitted, rather than risk a collision with the police or military. To the wood, then, they went—the famous "Dyrehaven," on the plain of the Hermitage, which little royal villa or hunting-box was decorated with flags and garlands. The Government had done everything in its power to prevent the celebration of the day, a number of police regulations having even interfered with and forbidden the details of the feast. But the people refused to be irritated by any such mean illegalities; they transported their banners by cars, and sent a world of materials before them. So, at four o'clock, the preparations were complete. A large and tall pillar, crowned by the Damesborg, had been erected close to the Hermitage, and its base was an immense platform for the music and chorus, and speakers. Between this spot and the tiny palace was a colossal and solid bust of the King, in plaster of Paris, rapidly modelled and cast by the great Danish sculptor, Bissen. This figure was a masterpiece, and produced an excellent effect.

The police prohibitions ceased at four, and at that time the various bodies began to arrive—guilds, trades, students, unions, &c.—with their flags, and song or music. Immense numbers of people were already on the ground, and in a short space there was a dense crowd far down from the hustings. Now commenced the proceedings, opened by State-Councillor Spandet. A hymn to a beautiful melody in the old style, composed by Rung, was followed by speeches, songs, &c., in the usual manner, every now and then the welkin resounding with loud hurrahs. The tone of these speeches was as tame as we could be, everything being sacrificed to a peaceful policy. The more official proceedings having ceased, various minor groups were formed, and there was a good deal of vigorous speaking by well-known men. At this period the view on the ground was very picturesque: the palace and its status and pillar on the right—the Sound on the left—the foreground, a noble sweep of greenward, undulating upward, and only broken by noble beeches and dense timber, sheltering scores of large refreshment tents; while music, or loud-chaunted song, or some impassioned harangue, filled the air, a hundred banners fluttered in the breeze, and the sunlight richly tinted the massive foliage. Later in the evening succeeded dancing, coloured lamps, &c.

A society is in active formation all over the country for the defence of the Constitution. The invitation to the people is signed by N. F. Bonnesen, C. Brock, C. A. Broberg, A. P. Hansen, M. Hammerich, and J. C. Jacobsen, all men of high character, and of large substance. Most of them are well known on the London Exchange.

The last accounts from Admiral Napier left him (June 4)

with nine screw liners before Pokkala Bay, three miles southwest of Sveaborg (Helsingfors). They could destroy the Russian fleet, about ten liners, lying at anchor behind the batteries. A letter from an officer of high rank, dated Barosund, June 6, says: "Those who do not get under fire are very impatient, but it seems very doubtful if we shall have any general action here. The Imperieuse looks in every night to Helsingfors, and reports the state of the ships in the harbour in the morning. A story is current, that, under a flag of truce, a challenge will be sent in, giving them the advantage of a ship or two, and allowing them to state their own numbers if they accept. They are confidently good gunners; so perhaps you may hear of the results of the challenge in a naval tournament."

Mr. Biddlecome, the master of the fleet, started on the morning of the 5th, in the Porcupine, to survey the waters close up to Helsingfors.

Admiral Plumridge has destroyed the Russian dockyards at Uleaborg and Brahestad, in Finland, on the upper part of the Gulf of Bothnia; and has burned 28,000 barrels of tar. He has also taken several of the gun-boats which had been prepared to oppose the British fleet.

The *Patrie* gives the following news from Persia:—"Private letters from Erzeroum of the 12th of May announce that the late Persian ambassador at St. Petersburg had arrived on his way to Teheran. The rupture between Persia and Russia was complete. A great number of Russian subjects resident in Persia had already left the country from apprehension of events likely to occur."

DOINGS ON THE CIRCISSIAN COAST.

Our gallant tars have been enjoying the recreations of a pleasure cruise under the shadow of the Caucasus, whilst performing services of great importance, and likely to be attended with anything but pleasant results to Russia. Visiting the Russian fortresses along the coast, they found some of them already abandoned and destroyed, and others only waiting their presence to undergo the same fate. All this is set forth in vivid detail in a letter from an officer, written at intervals from the 15th to the 22nd of May.

After leaving Gelendjik, and passing the deserted forts of Wilhelmisky and Lazarov (the latter the centre of a perfect gem of scenery), a party landed at Bardan, a point which has hitherto been the only Circassian post on the coast. The Russians have made persevering efforts to get a footing there, but have always been foiled by the mountain rifles. From Bardan Captain Brook and the engineer officer started over the mountains, with a few Sappers and an escort of Circassians, commanded by Ismail Bey, to cross the Russian road by hook or by crook, and communicate with the Schamyl if possible. The Circassians were in no want of weapons; but they received a welcome supply of "lots of shirts," and 12,000 or 15,000 rounds of Russian ball-cartridges.

The next run on shore was to explore the blown-up fortress of Gagri, which had evidently been abandoned in a hurry, as the Russians had left their ordnance stores there, including 13 9-pounders quite new, several 10-inch mortars and howitzers, besides many piles of shot and shell in the best condition. At Sukhum Kaleh 12 or 14 guns, ranging from 18 to 30 pounders (the latter are handsome and serviceable pieces of ordnance), were found unsprung, and shot and shell of all descriptions were strewn over the ground. Large stores of flour and wheat were still burning with a horrible smell; but to make amends there were gardens with roses in unparalleled profusion, filling the whole place with their scent; and there nearly all the ships foraged enormous bouquets. There is likely to be a stout fight for possession of Sukhum Kaleh between the Georgians and Circassians. It seemed that the Russian garrison needed the aid of the former to enable them to join their own army in Asia, and the Georgians stipulated that the town should not be destroyed, but bestowed on them as the price of this service. Schamyl, however, had also kept his eyes open, and had sent a lieutenant with a body of Circassians to take possession of the town. The Georgians were returning in great force, and Schamyl's lieutenant had left for Batoum to communicate with the Turks.

After taking on board a body of Turkish soldiers from the camp at Zuluk Zee, the fleet proceeded to Redout-Kaleh, which was still occupied by the Russians. A flag of truce having been sent to require the immediate evacuation of the place, the officer in command requested time to communicate with the Prince, who, he said, was two miles distant. A quarter of an hour was allowed; no answer. The boats shoved off, and signalled the result. They were ordered back to wait another quarter of an hour, but when they again reached the shore no one was to be seen—officers, Georgians, and Cossacks having all disappeared by magic. The Agamemnon immediately opened fire, the boats were manned with Turks, but presently ten columns of smoke rising from the town showed that the Russians had fired it. The work was cleverly done; and though the landing was quickly effected, the Russians were already safe from pursuit, having put two broad rivers between them and the Turks, and destroyed the bridges of boats. The whole town was consumed. The Turks have been left in possession of the site, and under English superintendence they have

constructed blockhouses and entrenchments, with which Admiral Lyons expresses himself "perfectly delighted." Redout-Kaleh was the most important point of the Russians, connecting Tiflis and the interior of Georgia with the Black Sea; and it was from that place communications were made between the other posts and the arm in Asia. Flame and smoke were also seen in the direction of Poti, which most probably has shared a similar fate; so that now the Russians are completely shut out in Georgia from the Black Sea. Redout is now the most important position in the hands of the Turks, and they require more men and guns there as soon as possible, as now they have but 7000 men to hold five positions. The fleet having sailed for Sinope, left the Sampson to help to take care of Redout-Kaleh.

On arriving at Sinope the place was found looking as mournful as ever, unchanged in all respects since its disaster, except that two small forts have been erected.

KOSSUTH AT NOTTINGHAM.

M. Kossuth seems to be making a progress. On Monday he visited Nottingham, and delivered a speech at a meeting in the market-place, convened for a purpose similar to that at Sheffield. A strong platform had been erected, which was covered with emblems expressive of sympathy with Poland and Hungary. One of these was a rude map of Poland quartered—"This was stolen by Russia," "This was stolen by Austria," and "This was stolen by Prussia," being written thereon. M. Kossuth was surrounded by a considerable number of Poles, Hungarians, and other foreigners, and by a large multitude of working-men. Mr. Councillor Darby presided, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Knight and Mr. Alderman Judd. The resolution of welcome was moved by Mr. Councillor Hart, seconded by Mr. P. Stevenson, and carried by acclamation. M. Kossuth's speech was similar in substance to his Sheffield speech; but one or two points were new. First he treated of his position in England in a manly fashion which must command general sympathy.

"England," he said, "is an asylum for persecuted exiles, whatever may be their political opinions. Why? Just because it is a free and independent country. (Cheers.) If personal security were not inherent to your situation, then you would not be free men—you yourselves would be dependent, partly upon arbitrary power, and partly upon the impertinent pretensions of foreign arrogance. Therefore, the right of asylum is essential to a country's freedom and independence. I for one, in my asylum here, have met with many an annoyance from certain quarters, but I have also received many a kindness from the people, and from individuals. (Cheers.) For this I have to be thankful, and will be all my life. But, from those to whom I gladly owe thankfulness I never have heard the claim, that in return for the right of asylum I have to forswear the sacred duties of patriotism. Quite the contrary. (Cheers.) Those to whom I owe gratitude have honoured me with kindness and sympathy, precisely because they found me unwavering in attachment and faithful to my duties to my native land. (Loud cheers.) It is to this I owe the kindness and sympathy with which the people of Nottingham honoured me on my first arrival in England, and on the present occasion. It is this appreciation of faithful patriotism which has been, and is, the source of that generous attention and operative succour with which the people of Nottingham have always assisted, and continue to assist, the Polish and Hungarian exiles—a fact to which I desire to bear testimony here, in the face of high Heaven, and to thank you for it publicly, in the name of all my companions in exile to whom you opened your hospitable doors, and let them rest at your firesides, and gave them work when they were wanting work, and lent them a brother's hand when they were in distress. May our Father in heaven bless you and yours for it! (Cheers.) But it is curious that those from whom I never met but scorn, persecution, and insult—these come on every occasion whenever I happen to speak a true word which does not suit them precisely, because it is true—they come and charge me that it is unthankfulness on my part, in return for the asylum I enjoy, to say and to do what they don't like. Now, as to this right of asylum, I once for all declare, I do not hold it from the favour of any person—I do not hold it as a special privilege, accorded to me particularly—I hold it from the constitution and the laws of England. I hold it from the fact that you desire to be a free and independent nation. In return, I obey your laws and pay my taxes, and, upon my soul, they are not over easy for an exile. (Laughter and cheers.) They are not over easy for an exile who, having had all the millions of his country under his control, can glory in the fact of having wandered to exile with empty but clean hands. (Applause.) Even so, I never intend to do, knowingly, anything against your laws, but I am firmly resolved to have all my freedom within the limits of your laws, and will never consent to give up one bit of it. I certainly never will acknowledge that the thanks I owe for the right of asylum consist in ceasing to be a good Hungarian, only because some powerful in your country are a little too good Austrians. Now, I will and shall do all I can against Austrian despotism for Hungarian liberty, and liberty in general. (Cheers.) Am I right in this, or am I not? ('Yes.') Well, if I am right, allow me to be true to this determination on the present occasion."

Again, with respect to the means of the allies to carry on the war, he remarked that neither England nor France can supply the hundreds of thousands of men required to obtain the objects of the war; and continued—

"But you have your fleet, you will say. Yes, you have it, and well may you glory in it; it is the mightiest fleet the

world has ever seen, and the brave boys on board of it will bravely answer your immortal Nelson's address, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' (Cheers.) But then, unfortunately, your fleet cannot swim on the sand plains of Russia; and yet it is on these sand plains that decisive battles have to be fought. Not one battle, but many. These wars cannot be disposed of by a little boxing, however brave. You perhaps may feel somewhat mortified not to hear of some naval exploits from your brave tars; but that will not do, gentlemen. They would fight if they could come to it. The Czar just prudently keeps his ships hidden in snug harbours out of the range of your guns. Therefore, all that your brave tars can do is to give 'house arrest' to the ships of the Czar—to keep them at home. That is all. But with this, with a little coast blockade, and with battering down some stones from fortresses, Russia is not to be vanquished. Now, I will tell you, gentlemen, how you can best employ your fleet so as to gain your object. Sign petitions that your Government shall permit 'Brave Charley,' as you call him there in the Baltic, to land, and make such a Nelson speech to gallant and heroic Poland, as 'Rise, boys, and fight!—here are some good arms, and some dry powder for you—and here am I to back you.' (Loud cheers.) Upon my soul, 'Brave Charley' will be glad to do it, and Poland will rise like a hurricane against your enemy, the Czar. The inheritors of the ancient glory of Poland will pray to God, and fight, and keep their powder dry. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, this is the best means to make useful your fleet, and the only means of attaining the objects of your war."

The rest of the speech was directed to the restoration of Poland, and against the Austrian alliance. He recommended the people to sign petitions, praying that Government should tell Turkey that it has no objection to Hungary being received as an ally instead of Austria. Long resolutions were agreed to; denouncing the partition of Poland; declaring that it should be reconstructed; and that the Austrian alliance is unsound, dangerous, and subversive of the aim of the war; and insisting that no treaty of peace should be concluded that does not recognise the re-establishment of Poland. The proposers and seconders of these resolutions were Mr. Mott and Mr. Renals, the Reverend G. A. Syme, and Mr. Sweet; and, on the motion of Mr. T. H. Smith and Mr. Marriott, a petition embodying the substance of the resolutions was ordered to be drawn up and presented to Parliament.

THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL COMPANY.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company, the report was unanimously adopted. A recommendation of the directors to suspend the declaration of a dividend until the completion of the annual accounts produced apparently some disappointment, but created little discussion, full confidence being expressed in the management. It was stated that the increased cost of fuel, with the general advance in wages and materials, has interfered with the revenue of the company, but that the receipts continue to exceed the expenditure. A fresh appeal is to be made to Government for relief in connexion with the contract for the postal service; and, if this shall prove unsuccessful, the opinion of the shareholders is to be taken as to future proceedings. With regard to the emoluments of managing directors, Mr. B. M. Willcox has voluntarily resigned his share, retiring from active duties, but continuing his seat at the Board. Mr. Arthur Anderson relinquishes about half of his allowance, appropriating a portion to the institution of a provident and good service fund for the officers and servants of the company, but for the present retains his appointment. Special votes of thanks were passed for these concessions, and it is proposed that some substantial acknowledgment shall hereafter be offered.

"At the last annual general meeting the directors reported fully their proceedings in respect to the application made to the Government for relief under the difficulties in which the Company was placed in executing the contract postal service, which had arisen from the scarcity of shipping and the enhanced cost of fuel at the various depots. Although that application was unsuccessful, the declaration of war against the Emperor of Russia was considered to afford a proper ground for again making a similar application, inasmuch as the declaration of war was an act of the Government, which has not only greatly aggravated, but will in all probability render continuous the increase in the cost of fuel, seamen's wages, naval stores, marine insurance, and other expenses of navigation. The directors have therefore applied again to her Majesty's Government for such an augmentation of the payment for the postal service as the Company may be found fairly entitled to, in consideration of the altered state of circumstances caused by the war; and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have so far responded to the application as to intimate their willingness to institute an inquiry into the matter, which will soon take place. The grounds upon which the present claim has been based are so reasonable that the board can scarcely anticipate a second failure in obtaining relief at the hands of Government. Should they be disappointed in this expectation, they will, if necessary, call a special meeting of the shareholders, to take into consideration the future policy of the Company.

"Most of the new ships have been kept back from completion and employment by the strikes of workmen and other uncontrollable circumstances—the execution of the contract postal service has caused an expenditure exceeding the payment received for it, and the claim for indemnification on that account remains yet undetermined—the directors therefore feel compelled to recommend that any declaration of dividend should be postponed to the next annual general meeting, when statements of the Company's accounts will, as usual, be laid before you, and when they trust the receipts and expenditure of the Company may exhibit a more favourable result than they can reasonably be expected to do at present. Instead of drawing upon probable future profits to supply a present deficiency, or ceasing to set aside those reserves which are necessary to maintain the property at its original value, and provide for its security against accident, the directors deem it the wisest and most honest course to recommend no dividend, unless arising from clear profits realised during the period on which they report; and, while advising that which they trust will prove to be a temporary inconvenience rather than depart from the system hitherto adopted, they feel much satisfaction in being able to state that the property and financial position of the company are in a sound state, the fleet in efficient order, and the future prospects of the enterprise by no means discouraging."

SIX CHILDREN MURDERED BY THEIR MOTHER.

"Six murders committed in one night at Esher; and by a mother on her children!" Such was the story that horrified the town on Monday. George Brough and Mary Ann, his wife, with their children, lived in a cottage at West-end. Formerly the wife had been the wet-nurse of the Prince of Wales, but she was discharged for indiscretion. George Brough was formerly employed by King Leopold, and is now the keeper of the ponds and the park. He suspected his wife made assignations with a married man in the village, and that they went to London for improper purposes. He set a watch, found that it was so, and left home. On Saturday morning a labourer going to work discovered that murder had been done. The rest of the story is best told by the witnesses at the coroner's inquest.

Henry Woolgar said that he was a labourer, in Claremont-gardens, and resided at West-end. On Saturday morning, about a quarter before 6 o'clock, he was going to his work, towards Claremont-park, when in passing the foot walk in front of Mr. Brough's house, he noticed a pillow hanging out of the window, all over with blood. It was hanging from a back window. It appeared to be lying on the sill, but hanging a little over. Witness became alarmed at the sight thereof. He did not see any one at that time in the house, and he heard no noise. He listened and heard a little gate closed, and on looking round, he saw Mr. Beasley approaching. The gate leads from West-end Common. Mr. Beasley was coming towards him, and when he reached him, he (witness) said "Look here, Thomas; here's an awful sight." He also looked up, and said they had better call some one. He rang the bell at Brough's house, but no one answered it. He fancied that he saw a female move after the bell rang. It looked as if a woman was walking about, but she did not come near enough for him to say positively that it was a woman. An alarm was given, and Mrs. Becham, his landlady, came, and she rang Brough's bell very violently. He afterwards saw a female dressed in a half-mourning shawl, come to the window and wave a towel as if to beckon them. He said "there is Mrs. Brough or some person, beckoning us for assistance." Witness then scaled the wall and entered the premises, when he opened the outer gate to let the others present in. Witness tried the back door and found it fastened. Seeing a ladder in the wood-house, he took it out and placed it against the window where the pillow was. He ascended the ladder, and on looking over the pillow, he heard some one coming up the stairs. In a minute or two he saw Mrs. Brough come to the top of the staircase with her hair hanging down, and her body over blood. As she reached the top of the step she turned towards the window when he saw a wound in her throat, she at the same time making a whistling noise. He immediately slipped down the ladder, and went off for the surgeon. He saw nothing else to strike his attention. He knew Mrs. Brough, and had an opportunity of seeing that it was her. He returned from the doctor's, and she was then lying on the bed with her throat cut. While on the ladder, he saw no second person. There was a front door, but he tried only the back door.

John Godfred, of West-end, said that on Saturday morning last he was in his own garden, when his attention was called to some person in front of Mr. Brough's house, which induced him to go to the house. He there saw Mr. and Mrs. Beasley in the yard. Saw the pillow spoken of by the last witness. Witness ascended the ladder, and looked into the room, when he saw a woman lying on her right side. He went into the room, and found that it was Mrs. Brough. He also saw a little child, but did not know the child. In another room in front where Mrs. Brough was lying. Two other children were at the foot of the bed, with their throats cut also. He then left the house.

The Coroner: How did you leave?

Witness: By the front door.

The Coroner: Was it opened?

Witness: It was.

The Coroner: Who opened it?

Witness: I do not know; I found it half open.

Examination-in-chief resumed—When he came out he saw two men, and he informed them that some children had been murdered. He returned to the house, and in another room he found three other children with their throats also cut. They were lying on a bed—one with his head almost off the bed, another was on the pillow, and the third in the middle of the bed, and the feet towards the foot. They appeared to be dead. He called to a man named Becham, but he said that he could not come. The only person he saw alive in the house was Mrs. Brough, who waved her hand when he got in. The rooms in the house were all over blood. The staircase led from the front door, but he saw no blood on it. He saw nothing, nor heard anything,

to account for the woman's throat and her children's being cut.

Wm. Bedser, parish constable, said that on last Saturday evening, from information he received, he went to the house of Mr. C. Brough. He proceeded up stairs, and in the right-hand room he saw three children, with their throats cut, lying on the bed. In the left-hand room on the same floor he saw one. He went to another room further on the right and found Mrs. Brough alive, with her throat cut, and at her back were two other children. He asked Mrs. Brough if she knew him, and she said yes. At the side of the bed he found a razor which he now produced. It was open and stained with blood. The blood was quite dry.

Mr. Biddlecombe, chief superintendent of the Surrey Constabulary, said that, from information he had received on Saturday morning last, from Inspector Martell, he went to the house of Mr. Brough. On entering the back door, and on going into a room, he found under the table a pair of woman's boots and a pair of bloody stockings. He went to the door and found that the bolt on the inside was not blood, as if handled with a bloody hand. There were no other marks of blood below. He went up stairs and found a boy, aged seven years, on the bed with his face covered with blood. He was dead, and his throat was cut. The wound was extensive and incised. He saw no other wound. They were lying on the foot of the bed Harriet and George. They were both dead. Each had received an incised wound in the throat. The girl had received a superficial wound on the left shoulder. He passed into another room, and found three other children. They were dead, and had extensive wounds in their throats. Those were two females and a boy; the latter had also a wound on the chin, and one on the forefinger. In a third bedroom he saw Mrs. Brough, the mother of the children. She was in bed, and had been attended to by a medical man. He gave instructions to the nurse and the police, when he asked her if she had anything to say to him. She replied that she could not then speak to him. He was satisfied that the children had been killed by some person, and was not the action of themselves. On Sunday he understood Mrs. Brough had inquired for him, and he went to the house, saw her, and asked her if she wanted Biddlecombe. She replied yes, I have been relating to an officer all about it, thinking I had been talking to you. She then said, "I should like to tell you all about it." She went on to say, "On Friday last I was bad all day, and wanted to see Mr. Laid, and waited all day. I wanted him to give me some medicine. In the evening I walked about, and afterwards sent the children to bed. I wanted to go to sleep in a chair. That was about nine o'clock. George (meaning Georgina) kept calling to me to come to bed. I came up to bed, and they kept calling to me to bring them some barley water, and kept calling to me to come to bed. I had one candle in the room. I went and got another, but could not see; there was something like a cloud, and I thought I would go down and get a knife and cut my own throat, but could not see. I groped about in master's room for a razor; I could not find one. At last I found his keys, and then found his razor. I went to George and cut her first. I did not look at her; I then came to Carry and cut her; then to Henry—he said, 'Don't, mother;' I said 'I must, and did cut him. Then I went to Bill; he was fast asleep. I turned him over; he never woke; I served him the same. I nearly tumbled into this room. The two children here, Harriet and George, were awake. They made no resistance at all. Harriet struggled very much and gurgled. I then laid down and hid myself. I can't tell what occurred after that, as I found myself weak and lying on the floor. That nasty great black cloud was gone then. I was thirsty, and got the water-bottle and drank. I fell in a sitting position; got up and saw the children, and it all came to me again. I wanted to call, but could not speak. I went to the window and put something out to call attention. I went to bed, and remained there till the bell rang. They made such a noise. I crawled on my hands and knees, but could not make him here. It was Henry Woolgar. I went down to unbolt the door. There was only one bolt fastened, and that I undid. That is all I know—they can tell the rest. It was not quite daylight when I put the signal out. It is possible I might have said something more to the other officer; if I have, he can tell you." This statement was signed by the miserable woman. Witness added that he did not believe she had made that statement for the purpose of securing any other person.

James Martell, inspector of the Surrey Constabulary, said that, on Sunday morning last, he was sitting by the bedside of Mrs. Brough, he having her in charge. She began to cry. He said, "Don't cry, it will hurt you." She said, "See what I have done." He asked her what she had done, when she replied, "You know all about it." She then made a statement precisely similar to that made to Mr. Biddlecombe, with this addition: "If there had been forty there I should have served them all the same, but what a pity it was that I did not do myself first." She requested that what she had stated might be taken down in writing, but preferred it being done after she had had a sleep. Witness heard her make the statement which had been read by Mr. Biddlecombe. He had no doubt but the children were killed by the mother.

Mr. Charles Mott, surgeon, of Walton-on-Thames, said that, on Saturday morning last, in consequence of a message he received, he went to the house of Mr. Brough. He went into the front bedroom, and saw a woman lying in the bed. Recognised her as George Brough's wife. Her throat was cut, and she was unable to speak, but sensible, and the other children were as previously described. The children had each received a deep incised wound in the front of the throat, quite sufficient to cause death. Undoubtedly, the injuries were caused by the mother upon the children.

Ann Yates, a widow, said that she resided at Claremont-park. She had seen the deceased children, and knew each of them. Their father was named George Brough, and the mother was named Mary Ann Brough. They had been lawfully married, she was certain, although she was not present at the wedding. The two eldest children had just recovered from the measles. The girl (Caroline) and the boy (Henry) were labouring under the disease at the time. Harriet was sickening, but the infant seemed well. She had no apprehensions.

hension of the death of either. She knew nothing of the tragedy except what she had heard.

Mr. Mott recalled: He had no doubt the razor produced would be sufficient to cause the injuries he had spoken of.

Emily Forster, a girl, aged eleven years, said that she lived at West-end, and knew Mrs. Brough and her family. She had been in the habit of going to her house daily with milk, which her mother sold her. She went as usual on last Friday morning, at eight o'clock. She saw the eldest girl, Georgina, and some of the younger children. She was about to speak upon something that Georgina had told her; but, as she could not say that Mrs. Brough was within hearing, the coroner could not receive her testimony as evidence.

The learned coroner proceeded to sum up, and remarked that he very much regretted, as a public officer, that he should be compelled to have come to that place and inquire into the particulars of such a fearful tragedy. The labours of the jury were greatly lightened from the fact that the woman was still alive, and he hoped the gentlemen would dismiss from their minds everything they heard elsewhere as to what was said to have induced the woman to commit the act. They had not the power in that court to decide whether she was insane or not. The jury returned the following verdict: "That the deceased children were wilfully murdered by Mary Ann Brough, their mother."

The eldest daughter of Brough, Mary, 19 years of age, has come up from Yorkshire, and with her father has taken the last look at the bodies of the poor murdered children—the father half mad. Mary Brough has seen her mother in prison, when the latter said she "did it" because she feared to be separated from the children. Brough himself refuses to see his wife. The man who seduced Mrs. Brough has been forced to quit the village, hounded off by public indignation. The forlorn father it is proposed to pension, so that he may leave a place which will be ever haunted by the most agonising associations.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen held an Investiture of the Order of the Bath on Monday, when Sir James Graham was made Knight Grand Cross, Mr. James Melville, and Rear-Admiral Lambert, Knights Commanders of the Order. The Queen visited Ascot Races on Thursday, and saw West Australian win the cup—Alfred Day being the fortunate jockey.

The ex-Queen of the French visited the Queen on Tuesday.

The intelligence from India and China by the overland mail is of little interest. An attack on the Imperialists had been made by a British and American force at Shanghai, in order to chastise them for outrages inflicted on foreigners. The rebels attacking at the same time, they were dreadfully cut up. Sir John Bowring arrived at Hong Kong on the 12th, and assumed the government on the 13th April. The Russian fleet was at Singapore; and Admiral Stirling was on the watch to give an account of them. Lord Harris had arrived at Madras. The electric telegraph was open from Calcutta to Delhi.

Brighton is now a corporate town; the first election of Mayor and Aldermen took place last week. The Mayor is Mr. John Fawcett.

Prince Albert was re-elected Master of Trinity House on Monday; and John Sheppard Deputy Master.

On Tuesday a detachment of the Metropolitan police took the duty of the Marines at Deptford Dockyard. Their arms are cutlasses and revolvers. The force consists of two inspectors, eight sergeants, and sixty men.

Captain Giffard, the commander of the unlucky Tiger, has died of his wounds and has been buried at Odessa. It is satisfactory to state that General Osten-Sacken, with his staff, two battalions, and two guns, attended the funeral. He was a Devonshire man, related to some leading English and Irish families. His name may be familiar to the reader as an active mover in the late Chinese war. The despatches of Lord Gough and Sir Hyde Parker bore the greatest possible testimony to his professional talent. Of late years he was under the flag of Sir Charles Hotham on the African coast. He entered the service in 1824.

Mr. Laing, Mr. Joseph Paxton, and other directors of the Crystal Palace, escorted the foreign commissions to the sights at Woolwich, on Wednesday. They also visited the big steamer now building at Millwall.

The Vicar of Peterborough has commenced a system of open-air preaching, and announces that he will continue the campaign during the summer.

By the order of the Grand Duke Constantine the flag of the Tiger has been entrusted to the naval cadets, to be kept with "the other hostile flags."

A fugitive slave, in the employ of a New York firm, some time since sent the Queen a specimen barrel of flour as a present. He recently received an autograph letter from the Queen, acknowledging the receipt of the flour and enclosing 500 dollars!

The Esk, screw-steamer, 21, was launched at Millwall on Monday, having on board her machinery complete—the first time a ship in that state was ever launched.

Excitement, raised almost to fever heat, prevailed in Belgrave on Wednesday and Thursday, during the election of a churchwarden for St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in consequence of the return of Mr. Westerton having been annulled by the decision of the Archdeaconry Court. The nomination took place at the Bays' Parochial School, Wilton-place, and was attended by a great number of distinguished persons, among whom were Lord John Russell, Earls Fitzwilliam, Ducie, Enniskillen, Lords Ernest Bruce, M.P., Bernard, M.P., Enfield, Sir Roderick Murchison, Bart., &c. &c. The Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell presided. Mr. Westerton was pro-

posed by the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Baring, and seconded by Grenville Berkeley, Esq., M.P. Augustus Robinson, Esq., proposed, and Colonel Knox seconded, Mr. Davidson. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Westerton by a great majority. A poll was then demanded. It began at four o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the liveliest demonstrations of feeling. Private carriages, scores of cabs, and other vehicles, many of them bearing the placards of the contending parties, arrived during the first hour; the more influential supporters of either side being received with loud cheering by a large concourse of non-voting sympathisers of the respective candidates. A great number of noblemen voted on both sides, and many of them took active parts in the proceedings. At five o'clock Mr. Westerton had polled 140 votes, his opponent but 30. His majority increased from hour to hour, and at the close of the first day's poll amounted to 240. At the final close on Thursday the numbers were—Westerton, 651; Davidson, 328; majority for Westerton, 323. Long protracted cheering from the supporters of the successful candidate greeted the announcement.

A deputation, headed by Vice-Admiral Sir William H. Dillan, K.C.B., had an interview on the 9th instant with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at Downing-street, for the purpose of inducing the Government to grant a pension to Nelson's daughter, whom he had left to the beneficence of his country in a codicil to his will, written on the morning of the battle of Trafalgar. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having asked for a copy of the codicil to the will, which was supplied to him, and having also examined the difficulties which presented themselves to the carrying out of the wishes of the deputation—difficulties, however, of a very slight character—said that he would consult the other members of the Cabinet upon the subject before coming to any definite decision upon the matter.

The wine trade promises no improvement. The vines about Bordeaux are still in a bad state; and it is not at all likely that the crop will equal that of last year.

Paris has its Agnews and Plumtrees. A society has been formed to promote the better observance of the Sabbath. They have begun by obtaining the closing of shops.—Not a bad move.

Some time since the Virago, a British war-steamer, furnished the means of rescuing Lieutenant Shain, engaged in the Darien explorations. The United States Senate has voted gold medals to the officers, and 100 dollars each to the crew.

Brazil has now a railway. The first line was opened on the 26th of April in the presence of the Emperor and Empress. Mr. William Bragg, chief engineer, an Englishman, was decorated with the Order of the Rose on the occasion.

The Celestials in California have set up a journal of their own, printed in Chinese characters. It is said to "look as if a spider out of an ink-bottle had crawled over a sheet of white paper."

The Supreme Court of Holland has just decided a case begun in 1420, respecting the boundary between two communes!

The abominable stock has been fatal to a soldier in Ireland. Samuel Henfield was a short-necked private; the pressure of the stock ruptured the aorta. A jury in its verdict referred death to the stock.

The first portion of the cable of the grand Mediterranean and Indian electric telegraph, 110 miles long, intended to unite the island of Corsica with Spezzia, was shipped on board the Persian screw-steamer on Wednesday.

Twelve months ago a telegraphic cable was lost in the Irish Channel; and last week Captain Hentley was sent out in the Monarch steamer to pick it up. This he did after considerable difficulty, and carried it into Belfast on Sunday. It is 16 miles long, and weighs 100 tons.

A curious experiment has just been made in the basin of the garden of the Palais Royal. A glass globe containing a certain liquid was thrown into the water, and then broken by means of a stick. The liquid immediately spread over the surface of the water, and inflamed and continued to burn with an intense flame for 56 seconds, throwing out a thick smoke. The basin looked as if it was all on fire. The strange result is due to researches which have been for some time past making by M. Nience de Saint-Victor, commandant of the Louvre; General Picot, commandant of the Palais Royal; and M. Fontaine. By the mixture of different chemical substances, these gentlemen have succeeded in composing a liquid, which is not expensive, and which takes fire spontaneously on coming in contact with water, as was proved by the above experiment.—*Galignani*.

A Scotchman, native of Elgin, has invented a wonderful projectile. It will hit a hair at a distance of five miles; spreads out like an umbrella, explodes where it alights, and destroys everything within its reach. It will destroy a man-of-war; and two charges annihilate the finest army in the world. [Surely Munchausen lives at Elgin.] The local journal says that the inventor has been sent for by the Board of Ordnance.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, June 17th.

THE House of Commons had a morning sitting yesterday, and was occupied until three o'clock with the Valuation of Land (Scotland) Bill.

In the evening Lord PALMERSTON was interrogated as to whether he would bring in his General Police Bill on Monday, and expressed his intention of doing so if possible.

Lord D. STUART gave notice that he should, on Monday, ask for an explanation of the reasons for the recent changes in the Government.

Sir J. GRAHAM said he had received an official account confirming the report that the Europa

transport had been burnt on her passage to Gibraltar. He made the following statement of the facts:—

"That on the morning of the 1st June, the captain of a ship near Gibraltar observed a smoke, which led him to believe that a ship was on fire. He bore down towards the wreck, and found the vessel burnt down to the water's edge, and no living person on board. Having endeavoured, by sailing round the wreck, to find if there were any persons on board or about the wreck, and finding none, he came to the conclusion that the crew had escaped. In two days from that time he was boarded by another ship, the captain of which communicated to him that on the night preceding, he met the Europa and a portion of her crew had escaped by his vessel from the wreck. Out of a number of passengers, amounting to 87, 50 of whom were soldiers and 21 sailors, comprising the crew—out of the whole 87, 21 had unhappily lost their lives. The House would be grieved to hear that among the officers so lost was Colonel Moore, the commanding officer of the Enniskillen Dragoons, who, in the most devoted manner, refused to leave the ship. The circumstances which gave rise to the fire were still doubtful, but an investigation would take place at Gibraltar. He should not be discharging his duty if he did not state that there were circumstances with respect to the conduct of the sailors which were highly unsatisfactory. The whole of the officers and sailors of the ship's crew effected their escape immediately after the commencement of the fire, with the exception of the master of the transport, the carpenter, and one sailor. With that exception, the conduct of the sailors did not appear to be satisfactory, and must lead to a full and searching investigation."

The House went into committee on the Oxford University Bill, and the whole of the clauses were got through; but not until Government had been defeated.

Mr. R. PALMER proposed a clause the effect of which was to preserve the rights of foundation schools—such as Winchester and Merchant Taylors'—to scholarships and fellowships in certain colleges in Oxford. It was opposed by the Government, but carried against them on a division. The numbers were—for the clause, 160; against it, 108; majority, 52.

The rest of the business was of ordinary interest.

In the House of Lords the Earl of HARROWAY stated that the report of the commissioners to inquire into the state of the College of Maynooth had been completed, and would be produced as soon as possible.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, in moving for returns of the miscellaneous estimates from 1835 to the present time, took the opportunity of elaborately reviewing the various items in those estimates since that time, showing that the excess of charge in the last year over the charge in 1835, was more than two millions. He criticised severely the increased charge for education, practical art, the Houses of Parliament, the British Museum, prisons and transportation, argued that education had not diminished crime, which had increased, especially in Scotland; and the whole tone of his speech amounted to this, that in his opinion all these charges were unnecessary in peace, but improper in time of war, and that the money should be spent on armaments, and prosecution of hostilities.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE complained of being taken by surprise by such a speech, which could not have been expected from the terms of the motion; but he very ably vindicated the increased number of votes, and indignantly repudiated the general doctrine of Lord Ellenborough with regard to the uselessness of the expenditure for purposes of education and other improvements in the condition of the people.

Lord BROUGHAM combated the educational part of Lord Ellenborough's attack; and the Duke of ARGYLL defended Scotland from the charge of increased criminality, and urged the advantages to commerce and manufacture from the establishment of Schools of Design and Practical Art.

We have some pretty stories from the Baltic. It is said that "the commander of Sweaborg has been imprisoned for life," and for a good and sufficient reason. "He had sold cannon-balls by thousands [to whom?] and provided others of wood painted black. He had also converted two ramparts into gardens!" "Some of the fir gun-boats have been tried; they split at the first shot." Now, improbability is not a ground on which these stories may be disbelieved, because similar things have happened before. But still it is incredible that such corrupt conduct could have been carried through successfully even in Russia. Yet it may be true.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

VIENNA, FRIDAY.

A report has arrived here to the effect that, on the 9th instant, Prince Paskiewitch received a severe wound in his side from a ball from the Turkish batteries, and that he was in consequence removed to Jassy. Prince Gortschakoff, it is added, then assumed the command of the army.

It is stated that the Porte has signified its acceptance of the convention proposed by Austria with reference to the eventual occupation of the Principalities.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1854.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—**DR. ARNOLD.**

THE SILVER WEDDING.

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of the marriage of Prince William of Prussia is a point of time from which the veteran bridegroom may well be supposed to turn round and survey the path that he has followed thus far, with an eye of comparison to the present, and perhaps to the future. It is true that time pays little regard to human anniversaries; a year as we measure it is unknown to the movements of the spheres; our line and rule are mocked by the free and eccentric movements to which our calendar can only adjust itself by leaps. The day passes into yesterday, and to-morrow takes its turn; but, in truth, as the earth turns round there is no division between sun and night. To the sun there is but one day, and night is but the transient delusion of the smaller half of the globe. So many times have we passed through our own shadow, and we say that a year has passed. This anniversary has no real identity with that short period between two shadow-passings which is marked in the calendar as Prince William's wedding-day in 1829. Nevertheless, by all the associations of the calendar he has a right to draw his comparisons, and he will find many things changed, both at home and abroad.

On that day he was but the younger son of the reigning king, and how much is implied for his changed position in the fact that his elder brother has since come to the throne, has remained without issue, and is manifestly declining in health as he is in popularity and influence. Since Prince William married great changes have taken place in his own country and in its relations abroad. The revolution of 1848 has taught him that the Prussian throne is not without its perils, and that the great body even of the German people cannot be altogether forgotten. The vacillating conduct of his brother has taught him that honesty and straightforwardness are essential to strength, unless there be surpassing acuteness and vigour of mind. If he looks to the actual state of his country, although he may congratulate himself that the efforts of Frederick the Great and of that monarch's father are apparent in the excellent condition of the army, and in the development of learning, both of which have so contributed to adorn and strengthen Prussia, he may say that the Commercial League, which was the project of his father, and adopted by his brother, has not yet secured the political objects for which it was instituted, and has certainly not developed the trade and riches of Prussia. No, the future king of that intelligent kingdom will have to confess that the influence of time is more apparent in himself and in his bride, more happily apparent, too, in the children that have been born to them, than in the growth of Prussian commerce.

If he would seek to calculate the horoscope of the future, the King presumptive of Prussia may look somewhat further back than the period of his own wedded life, and not without instruction. The kingdom of Prussia itself is not of such very ancient

date. It was a fief of Poland within two hundred years, for it is just one hundred and eighty-eight years since the first Frederick William declared it independent of tribute to Poland. It has not been a kingdom for two centuries, for it became royal no earlier than 1688. Not eight times the wedded life of Prince William has Prussia been independent; not seven times has its Sovereign been a king; and when he looks to the mode in which his future possessions,—if they are to be his,—were acquired, he cannot say that he holds them all by ancient tenure, by national solidity, or by manifest justice. Saxony, Austria, Poland, and Sweden, have surrendered, to the arms of Russia—possessions which were not always fairly won even in the field; for much sharp practice in the closet sometimes took more than the rightly-earned fruits of equivocal victories. He cannot say that Prussia may claim from the other states of Europe acknowledgment that she has been faithful to her engagements, or even to her stipulated treaties. To one declaration, indeed, Germany has been faithful for about as many years as it has been royal—since it has stuck, we cannot say to the national phrase, but to the selfish phrase, "Germans we are, and Germans we should continue"—the phrase with which Frederick William II. initiated his reign. Prussia has been German; but chiefly in her eagerness to eat up Germany and make the ancient fiefs of the Hapsburg family the territories of the Hohenzollern. Prince William is a soldier, and he may glory justly in the honours of the Prussian arms; but if Frederick the Great was not always undefeated, if Republican France left her mark upon Prussia, he may remember that something very like cowardice, mingled with the bad faith of the Prussian King, who joined in alliance with his old enemy France, after, in alliance with Austria, he had conspired to attack Napoleon in the rear, and after his intended victim had conquered Austria at Austerlitz. Crowning his bad faith with a new breach of treaty towards France, the King provoked that extinction of the Prussian monarchy which was his punishment in 1806, and which, in fact, cuts off even the short lease of two centuries for Prussian independence. It is true that Prussia recovered her independence by the victory of Wellington in 1815; but, granting all the share that she had as an ally in securing that victory, it must be confessed that Prussia has only a title that is thoroughly recognised and completely established for some forty years or less—not double the time that has seen Prince William a husband. Even then Prussia vitiated her claim upon the German States by giving only too tangible an interpretation to the saying of Frederick William the Second. Conquering the invader, by the help of Wellington, Prussia claimed as her wages the cession to her crown of Saxony and many other German provinces; and if her Commercial League has failed in its political objects during the fifteen years of its existence, it has stood as a practical confession that Prussia has aimed at securing by circumvention those objects which she openly demanded in 1815, and which have continued to be the aim of her monarchs since she became royal, and even before. The house of Brandenburg has lived by devouring its neighbours; and with a broken tenure, and a lease vitiated by weakness, bad faith and fraud, how can the presumptive Monarch of Prussia look forward into the future, and say that he has a throne guarded, as the English throne is, by its own inherent strength, by the respect of its neighbours, and the affection of its people, or its long tenure?

There is, indeed, one solid hold which the Prussian Government has upon the Prussian people; and, like all great influences, it is

reciprocal. It consists in the thoroughly military training which is extended to the whole male population. Every Prussian must be a soldier; but it is an obligation which confers a right and creates a power. The King of Prussia is but the chief of a nation of soldiers; and absolute as the constitution may be, he cannot forget his subjects; imperfectly as public opinion may be developed, the people has the strength which enables it to give that public opinion a considerable effect.

Prince William, however, has had some opportunities which fate has denied to his brother: he is really a soldier, a husband and a father. Although still far from being an old man,—he is but fifty-seven years of age,—he has known a quarter of a century of wedded life with the same wife. He was, nevertheless, no longer a youth when he married, in 1829, the young Princess Augusta of Saxe-Weimar, then in her eighteenth year. The marriage was suitable in point of rank, and it doubly connected the Prince with Russia; since his sister was married to the Emperor Nicholas, and the Princess Augusta was the daughter of a Russian mother. But it is quite possible that with a man like Prince William something more entered into the marriage than mere state considerations; and the unanimity with which the Prussian people are contributing to the presents and homage that he received on the anniversary of the day after the wedding, incline us to think as much. It must be in great part because the soldier-Prince is supposed, for all his absolute tendencies and Russian alliances, to counsel a sturdy independence of Russia; but it would seem to imply a more general sympathy with the Prince as a man and as a husband. If this be so, then, indeed, the Prince has known something higher than the enjoyment of royal dignity.

Sovereigns may meet to arrange state matrimonies,—heralds may arrange gorgeous pageants,—archbishops may bless the union with cathedral solemnities,—expectant crowds may hail the alliance of realms as well as spouses,—tire-women may dress the bride in silks, brocades, and golden robes; but the bridegroom, if he be upon an equality with his happier, though humbler countrymen, knows that his bride does not appear to him in all her power until the pageant is over, the heralds are gone, archbishops are silent, multitudes are sunk in oblivion, kings forgotten—until the lady of his thoughts comes to him without ministering retinue, without pageant, without robes. This, the living part of life, is known only to those that undergo it. Even the very existence of the life where its home is built remains but matter of conjecture. If true life is there, then the lovers learn, in the exchange of life, that there is something more in such union than enjoyment; and the noblest bridegroom may learn through lessons of the soul which words cannot teach, that the Prince is inferior to man when man wins the full measure of his destiny, even here on earth.

Such wisdom, if he attain it, may knit a Prince to his kin and countrymen far more than any man-made laws, be they ever so constitutional and representative. The man that has enjoyed the true taste of life—even if there was some alloy in it—for the twenty-five years before his Silver Wedding, must have earned his happiness by reciprocating the gift; and if he take a soberer view, if he confess aspirations less self-seeking than the younger bridegroom's are wont to be, a hearty sympathy with his kind will make him none the worse ruler. Prussia owes many a heavy fine to Europe, for wrongs committed and states defrauded, even during her brief existence as a realm; restless Poland, once her suzerain, since her victim-slave, may yet be a

Nemesis to her; but for Prussia the best chance in a doubtful future lies, not in the treaty stipulations which her princes have taught allies to mock—not in political institutions, which are little without they have a soul in them,—but in the being guided by a Prince who can lead his country as the head of a nation, and can sympathise with his people as a man.

A HOUSE OF ACCOMPLICES.

THERE is a curious caprice in the law which dictates the application of moral sentiment in this country. Nothing is truer than the averment about the two men, of whom one may steal a horse whilst the other must not look over the hedge. Many a lady whose children bear an hereditary coat of arms upon sufferance has been received at court, when those who have done no worse have pined to death in disgrace. There is many a company which men will not enter, because the conduct would disgrace those associated with it, while we find honourable gentlemen eagerly seeking seats, by purchase or otherwise, in that House which has so frequently and so notoriously disgraced itself. For indeed, whether we regard inconsistency, servility, self-falsification, fraudulent tenure, or many other offences against common honour and honesty, as well as against law, we really do not know any assembly in the country that can boast so large a number of achievements as the House of Commons. It not only defies honesty but appearance; and it has become so callous by being able to cite precedent for every act of meanness or delinquency habitual in the body, that it is a serious question, whether any man by becoming a Member of the House does not *ipso facto* render himself hardened against any appeal to his honourable feeling as a man in questions of Parliamentary licence. We know there are exceptions to this statement, for no body, politic or otherwise, is irredeemably vile. It is useless to appeal to Government against the House of Commons, since they are both in a story; and what we have said of honourable members may also be said of right honourable members—the “right” and the “honour” being literally a joke to both classes. There is no appeal, then, from Philip drunk to Philip sober, for, drunk or sober, Philip is equally a sad dog.

The case which the House will discuss on Tuesday next would alone suffice to establish our charge. It is now nearly forty years since some member of the family of De Bode has been asking for the money which was paid by the French Government into the English Exchequer on his account. Everybody admits that the claim was a perfectly just and reasonable one, technically as well as equitably correct, and that the only mistake made was not by De Bode, but by the Commissioners appointed to distribute the money. The stages of the story are well known. The Baron de Bode was an English subject, born of an English mother, in England, possessing property in England. He suffered loss during the continental war—the lordship and land of Soultz in Lower Alsace were confiscated; and under the treaty of 1815, the French Government paid over a large sum of money to the English Government to satisfy the claims of British subjects whose property had been confiscated. The Baron de Bode claimed, and he was met by various objections—that he was not a British subject, that his property was not confiscated as that of a British subject, that some of the property had been suffered to lapse, and that the evidence had not been completed. The objection about lapsed property was shown to arise from the Commissioners’ ignorance of the French language; for they mis-translated a word. Indeed all the ob-

jections were abandoned. It had however, taken some time to overrule them; and by the end of that time, the money was all expended. But how? It was not exhausted in satisfying payments. A balance remained, and by an Act of Parliament in 1819 that balance was placed at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury. So they first of all denied what they afterwards admitted, that the Baron de Bode was an English subject; they next kept him off with imaginary objections until the Treasury had had time to embezzle the money; and then they told him the money was all gone. Such are the pleas which Government has continually advanced to rebut the claim! Only last year Lord Lyndhurst put the case with all the clearness, solidity, and eloquence which peculiarly belong to him. But year after year Parliament has abetted every successive Government in refusing redress for this outrageous act of dishonesty—this swindling of an individual whose claim for redress the State defied, simply because he was an individual, and could not find any stronger power to take up his case.

Now, we say that not only are the bodies corporate answerable for that gross act of wrong, but that the individuals concerned are so, and we say that above all, the House of Commons is answerable, with every member in it,—individually answerable. Ministers might plead that they are, to a certain extent, restrained by the repeated decisions of that body which holds the purse strings on behalf of the public. The House of Peers might fairly plead that, in a money matter, the authority of the Commons is superior to that of the Upper House. But the Commons absolutely possess the power of ordering redress and furnishing the means; and it would not be a *grant* to the De Bode family, but a restitution. The De Bode money is still in existence,—merged somewhere in our great public liabilities; and, until the family be paid, we are keeping back their property. The House of Commons can order restitution of the money; and so long as the House neglects to do so, the whole body is guilty of misprision of embezzlement, and not only the whole body, but every individual member of it. The De Bode family have a perfect right to begin with the first honourable gentleman whose name stands at the head of the list, under letter A, and to terminate with the last honourable gentleman under letter Y; saying to each individual, by name, *you* are an accomplice in conniving at this act of embezzlement; *you* continue to be an accomplice until, at least, *you* give your individual vote for restitution; *you* are, one and all, disgraced by your active participation in dishonesty, which is aggravated, not alleviated, by its long duration. On Tuesday next the subject comes before the House, and every man who feels that his own personal character for honesty is of value to him will be there to absolve himself from disgrace by the only act which can secure his absolution individually—that of giving at least his single vote for a return to honesty.

BALLOT OR NATIONAL FRANCHISE.

THE arguments against the ballot are arguments in favour of a universal suffrage. Sir William Molesworth demolished Lord Palmerston’s sophistries, but he could only do so by proving the total fallacy of the present limited suffrage, and convicting Lord Palmerston of having argued in favour of “universal suffrage.” The franchise, said Lord Palmerston, is a trust, and the elector acts under responsibility to “the public.” But why, asks Sir William, should an elector be so influenced, unless the public are better

judges than he is? If the public are better judges, why make them execute their better judgment by the proxy of an inferior elector? The whole community must be able to choose representatives, and then they ought to have votes, and the suffrage would be universal. Unquestionably so. Lord Palmerston says the responsibility keeps a man in the right course; but, from the reports of the select committees, it is evident that an honourable sense of the responsibility does *not* keep the electors in the right course. Again, then, we find the electors acting by a standard inferior to that which Lord Palmerston vaunts for Englishmen in general. He thinks that those who enjoyed the opportunity of the ballot would not take advantage of it,—that they would avow their opinions. Some few, he admits, might not do so—“shopkeepers, or tenants, or a few persons who might be under the apprehension that a certain vote might be productive of some injury to their conditions or their pursuits.” Once more, then, the few are held up as inferior to the many. The shopkeeping class, who are timid and anxious about their interests, are described as people who might take advantage of the ballot. Very good; but let us remember that the ballot is intended exactly for the shopkeeping class, who, upon the whole, obtained the largest portion at the last extension of the suffrage. The millions of Englishmen, who probably would be as outspoken as Lord Palmerston says, are not the enfranchised class, and at present the ballot is to them not a practical question. It may not be wanted for the million, but it is wanted for the hundred thousand: why, then, refuse it to the electors who want it because the multitude who are enfranchised do not want it? The only force of the argument is to show, that those who need the ballot, the comparatively few, are inferior in independence as they are in intelligence to the multitude that are not yet enfranchised.

There is, indeed, a far more serious argument than this, and it is one almost admitted on both sides. Sir William Molesworth answers it, as a matter of debate in the House of Commons; but he does not dispose of it as a political fact in the state of the country. It is this. The ballot, argue its opponents, will not succeed, because it will still be possible to bribe people collectively. You will not be able to give to an elector five shillings, or five pounds for his individual vote, but you will be able to say to him, you shall have such a fee if such a candidate be elected. Now it is well known that the available voters can easily be reckoned up in any borough; they can be made known to each other, as they are known to the agents; and their common interest can be rendered as distinct to them collectively as it can individually. This is a kind of compact which is not apt to be vitiated by treason. Men will be true to “W. B.” or Frail, however they may be false to their country. Indeed in our times their country does little for them, professes to care little for them; while W. B. declares, in tender voice, that he has their interests at heart, and Frail fees them. As neighbours in Canada are invited to a “husking frolic,” or a “building bee,” in which all take part to accomplish the house-building or the thrashing for a newly-arrived neighbour, so the manageable electors of a given borough may be invited to an electing bee, and each man will feel that more or less of success depends upon himself. We believe this is a true representation. Men who can get five pounds out of W. B., and nothing but a workhouse allowance on the “repulsive” system from their country, will be still open to Frail influences. While, therefore, they are willing to be bribed, and men ambitious to sit in Parliament are willing

to bribe, it will be as difficult to keep the two apart as if they were Pyramus and Thisbe.

Sir William Molesworth can only argue that the collective bribery, more precarious than the individual bribery, will be open to large capitalists alone, and will be less inviting than the present plan. It may have that tendency, but it may also set going a new system of understandings, and may open to the invention of the cleverest political class in the country new plans for arranging the elections of members with money in their purses.

If the body politic is corrupt, the product of that body politic will be corrupt; if the class which furnishes candidates is willing to purchase seats by a species of political smuggling, then at all events there is a market for the illicit sale of seats. If the electoral class is corrupt, there is no reason why the electoral class should not be represented by corrupt members. To prevent it by castigation or secrecy will be ineffectual. There are only two methods of curing such a condition of the body politic. One is, by infusing healthier blood, and that, we believe, may be done; the other by setting an example, making a commencement, in returning to a more patriotic tone of moral feeling. It is assumed indeed, with the grossest injustice, that the unenfranchised class would not differ from the enfranchised, and that they would be as open to bribery. Even if it were so, the difficulty of the briber would be increased by extending the field of bribery. The man who can purchase the thousand voters, might find it difficult to procure the money for purchasing seven thousand. But there is, indeed, not the slightest proof that the unenfranchised class share the corruption of the electoral class. They are upon the whole infinitely less commercial, and do not, to so great an extent, participate in the vices of the trading spirit. They have proved on numberless occasions a greater political sagacity, which is in itself a corrective of low vice; but also a more patriotic and generous regard for public interests above their own. There is a far greater probability of purifying the elected body by infusing new blood into the electoral body. While the franchise is a trust, as Lord Palmerston calls it,—a privilege as the electors call it, it possesses a marketable value. Render it general, and by the very act the exercise of the franchise becomes in itself a national and not a class business. We heartily agree with Sir William Molesworth, therefore, that the argument of Lord Palmerston is impotent, except as a strong argument, drawn from the practical state of things, in favour of a national franchise.

The claim for the ballot, however, rests upon two grounds, which we regard as perfectly irresistible. In the first place, we have great respect for those reformers whose only reluctance to adopt a national franchise originates with timidity, who desire to reform by degrees, but wish to exhaust remedial measures before taking that last step. We have respect for them, because amongst them are many who have really acted with a perfectly single mind, disinterestedly and bravely, at a time when it was not easy to be either disinterested or brave. The ballot is the last quiver in their arrow, and we would willingly let them have its flight. It is the last attempt to remedy the evils of the present electoral system, without fundamentally altering that system. Let it be tried. But there is another reason still more conclusive—the electoral classes wish to have the ballot, and the unenfranchised classes also wish to have it. This is quite sufficient. One speaker said that the only ground for conceding a measure of the kind would be its tendency to elevate the people; but we conceive that the people themselves must be judges of their own self-elevation. The mul-

titude, whether enfranchised or unenfranchised, desire the ballot; and there is no reason for refusing compliance with their desire except the naked fact that the multitude retain in their hands neither influence nor power to enforce their wish. A disarmed and disfranchised people, the English public must suffer its will to go for nothing; and the Home Secretary can dismiss one of the most distinct claims ever put forth by the English public for arranging the way of their own voting in the manner that they wish themselves, with a jaunty tissue of transparent sophistries.

THE DIVORCE DEBATE.

If foolishness were not very hard of dying, we might reckon that comparatively few years will pass before the moralist will contrast our social condition in matrimonial affairs with the debate in the House of Lords on Tuesday last. It might be supposed from that debate, perhaps, that the sole thing which haunts the marriage home is the dearness of the law proceedings connected with divorce, or the cumbersome and exclusive nature of the jurisdiction; that, at all events, the first want, according to the Lord Chancellor and the Peers who debated on both sides, is a better procedure at law in matters of divorce. Not an extension of the divorce law; no, that is left exactly as it was. Divorce is to be granted for one cause alone,* as if there were only one cause which rendered it just and necessary.

The future student of our social morals who shall choose to look back upon the ugly picture, will be surprised to see us surrounded by causes which render the continuance of the marriage bond an outrage on common justice and decency, and yet to discover that we, in the midst of it all, could see one alone. That we are blind is not because the causes are invisible: some of them are flagrant in the police records of the day, in many forms of atrocious cruelty; but, passing from the police courts to the marriage courts, our student will learn that treatment which makes the blood run cold with horror at the mere story, is refined down in the statements of civilians until they have great difficulty in retaining a perception of cruelty at all. The most revolting excess of brutality may not amount to "legal cruelty." In these courts they do not discuss questions between man and man, or man and woman, with the living creatures before them; they only in part discuss the question with their own living tongues. In a corresponding spirit, they treat the cases not as matters upon which the tranquillity, and the welfare, and the life of their fellow-creatures hang, but as abstractions depending entirely upon mere technical or philological constructions of ancient books and almost as antiquated judgments. It is the study of the profession to exclude the sense of the feelings—which are the very life and substance of the matter in question; they carry on great portion of each discussion by sitting apart and writing quaint articles to each other. If you see a case proceeding in a court of law,—where the parties are brought forward,—where witnesses tell their feelings as well as the facts,—where judge and jury cannot help themselves from laughing or from weeping,—you will see that with much absurdity, much technical perversity, much denial of justice, still, in the main, the strong feelings of our nature have their sway, or if they are thwarted, the law that thwarts them at least extorts its own amendment. Put the man and woman into the marriage court,—let the lawyers talk about them like men as well as antiquarians,

and something of the flesh and blood of the matter will be taken into the account of justice; and law will begin to perceive, after its long dream over the pandects, that really there are things to be consulted besides antique texts, or the unintelligible usages of obscure courts.

The smallest approach towards resting the judgment of this question upon realities, rather than abstractions and assumptions, is a genuine step towards a more searching reform. At present the lawyers look not at the realities, but at the facts generally reflected and studiously distorted in a mediæval mirror. Society itself breaks the law by wholesale, and breaks it with impunity, so long as it manages to keep outside of the prospect which that mirror takes in. A man may be as brutal as he pleases, until he commits legal cruelty—cruelty that is which can be reflected in the mediæval mirror. He may be totally faithless to the law of marriage, and we suppose that a large proportion of husbands are so; but if his wife breaks the law in one particular manner, then, and then alone, the penalty descends not upon him, but upon her. We have been accused of exaggerating the case of infraction, but let us point to the argument against relaxing the strictness of the divorce law, which was used by Lord Chancellor Cranworth.

"He had not proposed, and the commissioners had not recommended, that the wife should have the same remedy on account of the adultery of the husband as was given to the husband on account of the adultery of the wife. He knew that *prima facie* this seemed a very unjust distinction, but let their lordships observe what it would lead to if adultery on the part of the husband were to entitle him to a divorce. If he wished to obtain a divorce, he would only have to multiply acts of adultery in order to attain his object. It was the fact that a husband scarcely lost caste at all, or, at any rate, only to a very slight degree, by committing adultery, while the wife who committed that offence entirely lost her station in society, and, although in point of morality and religion the criminality were the same, if adultery on the part of the husband was made the ground of divorce a profligate husband might get rid of his wife when he pleased."

So Lord Chancellor Cranworth objects to dissolve the bond of marriage, if the husband commit the same offence as that which annuls the marriage for a wife, because the offence is so common that it ceases to be regarded as an offence, and he dares not trust men with the opportunity of committing it in order to escape from their obligation. We hear sometimes of men who publicly commit a larceny or an assault, in order to get into prison, that they may be saved from starvation; but nobody proposes to shut the doors of prisons, lest starving men should enter in such numbers as to constitute themselves a burden on the state. Yet so it is with husbands at large. Lord Cranworth tells us so; and as to women—look at our streets, look down the areas of our houses: let us recollect that in practice and in fact, among the customs of our country, marriage appears to have as its accompaniment and complement that hideous institute called "prostitution." In marriage-law affairs half of our practice consists in the flagrant breach of the law, and the other half in a very indifferent attainment of its genuine objects.

It is on the mass of presumption and indirect legislation, which compose the larger half of the law, that the hardship and mischief of the present law rest. In past times, when views of morality were totally different from our own, men presumed that certain things were necessary to proper conduct in life. The men who laid down those regulations could not obtain obedience in their own day; but, by one of the strangest perversities in our social history, they have handed down the impracticable morals of the middle ages to secure obedience at a time when the grounds of those rules are denied.

* In this paper, as in others, we shall usually employ the word "divorce" to mean divorce à vinculo matrimonii—release from the bond of marriage; and "separation" for the divorce à mens et thoro—divorce from bed and board.

A large proportion of the marriage law thus rests not only on presumption, but on presumptions which are out of date, and are denied by those who obey the rule based upon them. For instance, it was presumed in those days that it would be an act of practical impiety to deny the absolute power of the Church in rendering man and wife one, by a sacred miracle. To deny the unity of the married flesh was a minor, but only a minor offence to denying the "real presence," and we now maintain the same law of unity, after we have denied the miracle presumptively attributed to the Roman Catholic Church. It was assumed in those days that strictly to enforce the marriage law would secure moral life to persons in the married state: experience makes us laugh at the assumption now, yet we find Lord Cranworth and the other learned peers who were discussing the subject treating that assumption as a self-evident truth. Thus detail after detail may be advanced to prove that the marriage law was contrived for a state of society such as civilians supposed it ought to be, and with an extremely imperfect reference to the state and custom of society as it exists, or ever has existed.

The objects of a marriage law are sufficiently distinct and evident. In giving herself to a man, especially in youth, a woman establishes a claim upon that man which cannot be said to cease until she herself abrogates or forfeits the claim. The alliance has altered her condition permanently, or has, in all probability, entailed upon her direct responsibility, shared by the man. She has, by other laws of society as well as matrimonial laws, less power than he has, singly, of fulfilling those obligations. These are only a few examples of the manner in which her moral claim upon his sustinment is made out. So far as the woman is concerned, therefore, a marriage law should secure to her the satisfaction of her claim, permanently, for all that can give her sustenance, and the means of fulfilling her obligations, until the claim be terminated by her own free will. It is an object of justice to her, and of good order to society, to take great precautions that the act of abrogation shall be one of absolute free will on her part, and that it shall be deliberately and perseveringly entertained.

Again, the actual relation between child and parent gives a moral and instinctive claim on the part of the child against both parents, to secure the due sustentation, nurture, and training of the child, until it shall have been placed in a position in which it can secure, with mature powers, its own independent existence. This also is a claim against both parents, permanent in its nature, until it attain complete satisfaction. It is a claim which cannot be transferred from one parent to another, but lies against both, to the whole extent of their means. Direct enactments of a marriage law to secure the perfect, facile, and unqualified enforcement of these claims would not be difficult, and would not be liable to that constant evasion, nay, that open violation, which natural law at present receives under cover of the technicalities, the presumptions, the evasions, and the weakness of the actual law. Look at the case to which we have more than once adverted, in which a man, standing before a magistrate, deliberately refuses to sustain a woman who has given herself to him for life, and against whom he makes no reproach; refuses to sustain his own children, and perseveres in the refusal, notwithstanding the indignant reprobation which natural feeling extorts from the magistrate, but which certainly is very lightly sustained by the statute law—for the children were "illegitimate."

THE CHURCH PROPOSING TO MORALISE TRADE.

WE adhere to our resolution not to descant upon mere commercial experiments, or prostitute the independence and integrity of journalism to the illustration of advertisements; but to ignore altogether any notice of disinterested and high aims, because the issue may lie among the details of commerce (which so much need to be chastened by a pure spirit), would be deficiency in public duty, as the other course would be a perversion of it. Thus, distinguishing the ground the *Leader* has ever taken, we briefly recur to a letter we lately inserted in our columns from the pen of the Rev. Charles Marriott, of Oriel College, Oxford, upon the subject of the "Purveyor Institution." The name of this institution is as new as its object. It is entitled the "Universal Purveyor." It undertakes to supply all commercial demands. It offers its services "to secure the purity, good quality, and fair price of articles for household consumption; to enable retail dealers to supply with advantage those of the humbler classes who are not in a position to afford a premium to first-class dealers for a guarantee against fraud and other impositions; to offer to the higher and middle classes the opportunity of giving to their family expenses a high moral destination." Such are the assurances given by Mr. William Islip, the commission merchant of the establishment.

We will take from the pen of the Rev. Charles Marriott a brief statement, which has not appeared in these pages:—

"The modes in which any one who may feel an interest in such an attempt can further it at present are the following:—

"1. Employing the agency of this establishment in procuring any articles of consumption, materials for work, &c. &c., either directly, or if preferred, through tradesmen, who may be instructed to procure goods through the establishment, guaranteed by its stamps. Ready money payments are required, as the commission charged is not calculated for credit.

"[It is not the aim of the establishment to supplant honest tradesmen in their regular custom. Much assistance would be given if it were recommended to new institutions, and if it were employed in orders for plain articles of food and raiment, intended for charitable purposes, in furnishing medicines, drugs, &c., and anything out of the usual course, which it may be difficult to obtain at once in the country; also if it were put in such communications as would enable it to supply the poor with cheap tea, and ground coffee, guaranteed from adulteration.]

"2. Lending money, to be employed as working capital, for the execution of orders, on bonds given by the director, at 5 per cent. interest. This capital is placed under trust, and used only in payment for goods. It is therefore exposed to no risk, except from bad debts, against which every precaution is taken, and which would be borne by the establishment in the first instance, and could only touch the lender through its entire failure. Should it be broken up for want of support, the whole of this might be returned to the lenders."

Conceived with so much good sense, certainly commended with so much moderation, and supported by influential connexions, the prospects of the institution seem fair.

In the *Christian Remembrancer*, a Church quarterly organ, we have seen this same "Purveyor" Institution commented upon as part of the kindred of practical, industrial, and moral reforms. What has struck us, conversant somewhat with the literature of co-operation, is the amazing moderation of the writer. It is rare to see sobriety of expectation combined with radical penetration and large efforts. Hope has too often been the death of co-operation. These reformers have expected so much that they have accomplished nothing. But when we find writers painting with severe faithfulness the difficulties in the way, and yet preparing to compass them, we believe some substantial success is near at hand.

Dissenters can be loud on *Evangelical* alliances, but they are silent upon *Philanthropical* alliances. We are glad to find the Church wise in its generation, and preparing to put its admirable organisation to some benevolent and useful purpose. It did well enough once for the Church to maintain high and exclusive spiritual functions. Secular interests were not then the passion of the people—the age was not then materialistic—the "world" was then subordinate. The Church, if it will, may maintain its high spiritual pretensions—but it must no longer make them exclusive. To persist in the divorce of the Church from the life of the people is the abnegation of half its possible empire. The Established Church, always more perspicuous than Dissent, penetrates the future—the Rev. Mr. Marriott points the true way to popular and legitimate conquests.

The "Universal Purveyor" guarantees pure food of the first quality, and at a fair price. The transaction shall be moral and the article shall be wholesome. Who can estimate the moral value of this guarantee? We clamour, struggle, and protest on behalf of political, social, and religious truth—we cannot even attain to the grossest, material, and physical truth. The mendacity of food is enormous. We eat and drink lies daily. The Minister says his morning grace to the God of truth, and then pours out commercial falsehoods from his coffee-pot, and grasps untruths by lumps with his sugar-tongs. And

on the Sunday he stands up before his congregation, in the temple of the Lord—with the "tricks of the trade" upon his back. The Rev. Mr. Marriott argues for moral consistency in life as well as profession, and invokes the Church to practically amend the manners which commerce has depraved.

Nor is the layman less interested than the churchman in this question. Shall we be content that fraud—the Toad of Trade—shall nestle in the cupboards of the poor? And while it is necessary that we pity their helplessness, we may wonder also at the ridiculous infatuation of the respectable "head of the family." *Pater Familias* counts himself a highly practical individual, and has a due contempt for all dreamers and social reformers, but he is himself a vast and unconscious Utopian. What credulity is displayed when you take a draught of milk, or partake of its admixture in your pudding. Who knows what disease the cow is suffering from in its gas-lighted, pent-up stable-den? What were the contents of the last sausage? What was the health of your smoking sirloin yesterday, or of your mutton chop, when your worthy butcher became possessed of it? How was your wine compounded? Who will vouch for the morality or even authenticity of the "grower?" What amazing power of imagination is required to fancy your unknown diet pure. St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, Pierrepoint, Graves, well are you avenged of the conventional derider. Not all the credulity of all the mystics and Utopians of the past two generations is equal to that of your practical man of London and Manchester. He counts his money and watches his share list, but at dinner time he opens his mouth and shuts his eyes, and takes what the Huxter sends him. His stomach is at the mercy of the last man who puffs in a newspaper. He intrusts his health to the higgler in the market-place. The man who advertises in superlatives commands his custom, and the vendor who boasts on a placard what he can never perform may half poison your practical man three times a-day. He begrudges a penny in the pound for a guarantee of wholesome food, and gives his physician a guinea fee to tell him what is the matter with him when he has eaten it. O most sagacious and practical economist!

IOX.

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

It was very interesting on Thursday evening to watch Lord John Russell walking up the House of Commons to take the oaths, as a new member; and the cheers which greeted him, and which he acknowledged by a complacent smile, were charming. The ceremony was that of the conqueror arrived at the Capitol; and the advent was hailed as the assurance to the Liberals of a victory. But what conquest—that one inquired about, afterwards. Why were the Liberals so happy? Evidently because a new Government had been organised without reference either to Crown or country—which is a circumstance to delight us with our free constitution. What had Lord John been doing? Why Lord John had been submitting to public opinion—public opinion likes appearances kept up; and the Liberals' cheers were an intimation that the House of Commons applauded, in him, the whole Government. For what? Why, public opinion and the House of Commons have been insisting that it was a great pity there were not more offices, with 5000*l.* a year salary, for the Coalition aristocracy, so the Government has bowed to dictation, and created a fourth Secretary of State. Obliging Government! To create the fourth Secretary of State, various changes had to be made, to avoid the personal jealousies of patriotic men: but patriotism prevailed—the Government is re-arranged—and Lord John comes back crowned with the acclamations of the dirty unfortunates who constitute the Shaksperian "Citizens" on all occasions in Guildhall—and Lord John deserves these acclamations, for has he not nobly consented to take 5000*l.* a year, in the future, for leading a House of Commons which turns out all his measures? Certainly, the whole process being gone through, a suspicion seems to be arising that perhaps the public does not considerably gain—the Minister of War presented to the country being in no respect the Minister of War the country was expecting. We had two Ministers of War before—Lord Hardinge and Mr. Sidney Herbert; and now we have a third Minister of War, in the Duke of Newcastle; so that the Coalition seems somewhat to have misconceived those public wishes which, upon the temptation of 5000*l.* a year more among them, they were so alert to gratify. But, then, there are collateral advantages which our governing classes will fully appreciate. The Whigs who were left out are appeased; and is it not right to appease those noble and exalted men who were pining to serv

their country? The clan of Greys have got the whole patronage of the great colonial empire created by an adventurous and active race; and it is a great point in the Government of this country that the clan of Greys should have their way. It may be that the Whigs are not very brilliant personages. Certainly, from 1832 to 1841, they failed in everything; and from 1846 to 1852 they failed in everything again: and in twenty years they have not produced a man. But these are mere intellectual considerations, of no avail in the practical politics of an empire which is quite self-governed, and which enjoys an hereditary peerage, and a packed House of Commons—which must, therefore, consult the tastes of an intermarried Whig connexion of great landowners. The country ought to be happy that such a crisis as our Ministry has gone through has ended in so quiet an arrangement. A Court favourite, like Lord Granville, complacently moving down, and a rich toady, like Mr. Strutt, serenely taking a kick out—these are instances of purity of political purpose which we must not overlook. And deep, indeed, would be the national ingratitude if we did not idolise Mr. Sidney Herbert, who is proclaimed as unfit for office by the colleagues who know him best, and who yet confidently retains his seat on the Treasury benches. As he said of the Derbyites, when Mr. Disraeli sat scowling on that bench, on each side of him being arranged those magnificent colleagues of his who once had this free country in their grip—Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, Major Beresford, Mr. Stafford, and Mr. Walpole (who had just given up the statesmanship of the militia franchise)—“If you want to see humiliation, look there!” Yes, Mr. Sidney Herbert, you look remarkably mean. You have had ten years of the War-office, and yet you are not fit—forty years of age, and in the full power of whatever is in you—to manage that office in time of war. Leave public life, then, Mr. Herbert, or talk modestly in public affairs. On the whole, perhaps, you look more ridiculous than Mr. Walpole looked when he said he didn't mean to create a prætorian guard out of a militia.

It is very strange that our only public affairs, just at present, with a war raging against Russia, should concern the private interests of a few “public men,” who are singular in historical failures. There are few things in English annals more mortifying than that a “crisis” in a Government should be dependent upon the whims of a broken-down mediocrity like Lord John Russell—a man whose impotency destroyed the great Whig party, and whose fussy vanity is making the strong and honest Coalition ridiculous. Yet, no doubt, Mr. Urquhart was quite right, in saying, the other day, that on the re-election of Lord John for the City would depend the Coalition's retention of power,—the Coalition couldn't get on without Lord John, who, for some lunatic reasons, is supposed, very untruly, to be a popular man. And, notwithstanding, the elaborate indifference of the House of Commons to everything Lord John may say or do—an indifference which is not occasioned by the pre-occupations of the war, but which has now lasted for eight years—there are portions of the press who still attach the vastest importance to poor Lord John's incoherent commonplace. The country, in fact, was congratulated on Thursday by the Liberal papers upon Lord John's having told the inhabitants of Guildhall, to whom more communicativeness was shown than to the House of Commons, that a war ought to be followed by a durable and lasting peace! Yes—it was actually accepted, this innocent phrase of an old gentleman who hasn't the slightest idea of what Lord Aberdeen is about, as a revelation of British policy; and the free journalists of a self-governed country are positively inflamed into ecstasy at getting so much news of what the Cabinet of Lords means to do for us—really to get durable and lasting peace! There can be no doubts, after that, as to what the war is about: it is to secure us a peace which shall not only be durable—but lasting,—which is, apparently, regarded as a good deal more. In the hilarious happiness produced by this reckless communication, the clever journalists overlook Lord John's qualifying suggestion—that we should have to consult France, and Austria, and Prussia, as to the character of the peace we are to secure:—nothing is thought of

but that we are to have a durable and lasting peace; and Lord John is pronounced a magnificent statesman because he sees that Russia is an aggressive power, which ought to be checked:—a discovery made, on various previous occasions, while Lord John was in power,—on the last occasion a hint to that effect having been given when Russia marched into Hungary. Those who do not feed their intellect with mere phrases, and who do not worship Lord John because he is called a Reformer—as if the Reform Bill of 1832 was a Reform!—are disposed to believe that we are at war, at this moment, with Russia, because of the foreign policy of Lord John Russell during the fifteen years in which he was a principal Governor of Great Britain:—a foreign policy which directly discouraged nationalities, and which indirectly encouraged despotisms. But, then, though Lord John Russell Russianised Europe, did he not get the Test and Corporation Act repealed? and, if he left Nicholas to become dangerous, did he not abolish Old Saram? Certainly, the other day, he voted against the removal of Church-rates, and introduced bills to get rid of a universal electoral corruption. But it is a great thing to be a Reformer:—particularly if it doesn't involve your effecting any Reforms. And as the *Globe* says so keenly—what is the use of carping at this great man, who gets the cheers of longshoremen in Guildhall, and the favourable “resolutions” of that most ardent democratic party, the City of London influential “Liberals”?

City Liberals are like House of Commons' Radicals: their great principle is to keep the Tories out; and, that accomplished, they forgive any amount of futility in their great Whig leaders. The City Liberals (perhaps, as a moneyocracy, the most frightfully “aristocratic” set of men in this kingdom) put up with the destruction of the Jew cause by Lord John: and the Radicals in the House will not the less recklessly subscribe for the next portrait to be presented to his wife, because Lord Palmerston snubs them on their great theory of the Ballot—answering twenty years' collection of their crack speeches with “Away with this nonsense!” Sir William Molesworth (who had his speech well written out, as usual, and was not to be baulked of its delivery) returned the compliment by confessing that his colleague's arguments were so old and used up that they made him sick:—the whole spectacle, that debate, suggesting how happily the Coalition must get on in the safe seclusion of a quiet Cabinet wrangle—each man believing the other a fool! Lord Palmerston's was, no doubt, a poor speech; Lord Palmerston does not excel in philosophical dissertation; he has merely a genius for action and a taste for common sense, with an immense narrative capacity for statement; and though his exulting platitudes on Tuesday were loudly cheered by the Tories, who are always hankering after him, to Mr. Disraeli's disgust, as their leader, the silence behind him condemned his logic, and hinted, in addition, that he might just as well have left the clumsy task of the supererogatory answer to Mr. Berkeley to some other member of the Coalition. But the speech of Sir W. Molesworth, on the other hand, is scarcely entitled to the rapturous commendation which it received. A speech is, after all, a piece of acting: and Sir W. Molesworth cannot make a speech. He writes an admirable logical essay, which would be a hit in a very respectable quarterly, or in a painfully wise weekly paper, but which becomes spoiled by being recited by the writer to a House of Commons' auditory. Sir William has not the extempore air which Mr. Macaulay can so well assume, and he cannot affect Mr. Disraeli's graceful affectations, which give a conversational tone to studied phraseology: and, as you see, all through his over-elaborated talk, that Sir William is reading off a paper stuck before his mind's eye, so the regretted result is that he conveys the impression, after the first half-hour, of being not a bore—for Sir William Molesworth is a very first-rate man—but wearisome. Hence his speech, despite his perfectness of reasoning and illustration, was a failure—just as Lord Palmerston's speech was a failure, despite of the happy manner which carried it through cheers. But it is a mistake to suppose that the debate was at all interesting; it was not interesting, principally because there was no interest about it; and but for

the dramatic episode of two Cabinet Ministers mentioning their candid conclusions about one another's pet prejudices, the debate would have been without point. For the Radicals, it is to be feared, will hesitate to act upon Mr. Bright's suggestions, that Radical principles would progress better if there were a Radical party to make conditions with the Minister, of whom they too laxly become the Ministerialists. Mr. Bright did not put this point quite forcibly enough; for though his speech told—his massive intellect is becoming more and more pre-eminent in the House—it was too desultory in style and loose in reference to fix the attention of that large class of members who are not quite equal to obtaining a general impression, but can seize on a distinct phrase—and exist on that. Yet, no doubt if Mr. Bright followed up his discovery that a party is an absurdity until it is submitted to party organisation, he would successfully create and lead a confederation of Liberals who, in the present position of politics, would arbitrate between Whigs and Tories, and, in the end, obtain power for themselves. No better beginning could be made than, as he proposes, on the ballot. It is the only one of the old democratic questions on which Liberals are really earnest and hopeful; and it is a question so placed, in regard to the aristocratic parties, that an easy way may be seen to carrying it;—that carried—if it be worth carrying—most reforms following. The Radicals are beginning to find out that they have spoiled the Coalition by abstaining from making conditions with it, and even this session is not too far advanced to permit of the Liberals dictating whether a conference at Teschen, or at Windsor, or in Downing-street, is to override the avowed will of this great people—that the war against Russia shall be a war for human freedom.

Saturday Morning.

“A STRANGER”

Open Councill.

[IF THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

ITALIAN REFUGEES.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Paris, 1854.

SIR,—If you love truth and justice, as I cannot doubt you do, you will, I trust, give insertion in your valuable paper to the following rectification of the facts mentioned in some of the London journals:

1. The 189 Lombardo-Venetian refugees, against whose property the act of sequestration has lately been cancelled, possess no property, or scarcely any; this is why their names do not appear in the lists published by the commissioner appointed for this purpose, of those against whom the sequestration was carried into effect, and is still in rigour, and whose fortune amounts to several millions. There are, to be sure, homonyms of wealthy individuals such as the *Brothers Litta* and one *Annoni*; but this is merely done with a view to take in the credulous. The poor of that name have been exempted—the rich are still under sequestration. The decree of liberation does not mention any name belonging to Venice.

2. The sequestration had not been imposed against those who refused to avail themselves of the amnesty. The decree was, on the contrary, directed against the refugees *en masse*, whether they were excluded or not in the bits of proscription,—in consequence, as therein stated, of the insurrectionary attempt at Milan of 6th February. This condemnation of all without any proof against a single one, without trial, without sentence—in defiance of public right, and even of the private right of Austria, which does not admit this kind of penalty—has raised the indignation of the whole press, and has given rise to protests on the part of the Sardinian Government, in honour of its new subjects, and of the British Government, which were publicly communicated to Parliament.

3. The act, therefore, which takes off the sequestration, even if it had been done in earnest, cannot be qualified as an act of clemency,—and, such as it is, far from evoking in the Lombardo-Venetian territory a feeling of gratitude, must add fresh indignation against a system of division towards the unhappy subjects, and of deceit towards foreigners.—Accept, Sir, the assurance of high regard,

AN ITALIAN REFUGEE.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE talk of the week has mostly revolved around the Crystal Palace, when diverging from the war, and this Palace of Art has various obvious connections with Literature, besides the admirable little *Handbooks* which guide the visitors through its various courts—handbooks which, compiled by men so able, and for a purpose at once definite and grand, cannot fail greatly to assist in the education of the people.

And while the world, ancient and modern, is represented at Sydenham, philosophers are eagerly discussing the question of "Are there Inhabitants of Other Worlds, and if so, are they like our brethren here?" WHEWELL'S *Essay* has provoked this discussion. Professor NICHOLL answered it in the *North British*, and Sir DAVID BREWSTER has come forth with an *Essay* in reply, under the ad captandum title of *More Worlds than One: the Creed of the Philosopher and Hope of the Christian*. The philosophy which underlies these astronomical discussions is not of a very definite kind. The writers are all struggling in the nets of metaphysical theology, arguing from their hopes and wishes rather than from evidence, pronouncing verdicts from a "foregone conclusion." What is the real question asked in asking whether the planets are inhabited? The question assuredly is, "Are there beings like, or analogous to, men and women?" That there is Life in those planets—Life under myriad forms—must be conceded. But in saying there are various forms of Life diversifying the planets, we do not necessarily imply that these forms are identical with the forms of Life on our own planet, or that they in any respect resemble them. We have not a tittle of evidence for saying so, unless the "hope of a Christian" is evidence. All the positive evidence we have would lead us to believe that the Forms of Life would be altogether unlike those of our own planet; and in the following passage Sir DAVID BREWSTER admits almost as much, though it is clear that he does not raise himself sufficiently above the *menschliche standpoint*—the merely human standard—to conceive Life as possible except under forms analogous to those on our own planet.

"To assume that the inhabitants of the planets must necessarily be either men, or anything resembling them, is to have a low opinion of that infinite skill which has produced such a variety in the form and structure and functions of vegetable and animal life. In the various races of man which occupy our globe, there is not the same variety which is exhibited in the brutes that perish. Although the noble Anglo-Saxon stands in striking contrast with the Negro, and the lofty Patagonian with the diminutive Esquimaux, yet in their general form and structure, they are essentially the same in their physical and in their mental powers. But when we look into the world of instinct, and survey the infinitely varied forms which people the earth, the ocean, and the air;—when we range with the naturalist's eye from the elephant to the worm—from the leviathan to the infusoria—and from the eagle to the ephemeron, what beauty of form—what diversity of function—what variety of purpose is exhibited to our view! In all these forms of being, reason might have been given in place of instinct, and animals the most hostile to man, and the most alien to his habits, might have been his friend and his auxiliary, in place of his enemy and his prey. If we carry our scrutiny deeper into nature, and survey the infinity of regions of life which the microscope discloses, and if we consider what other breathing worlds lie far beyond even its reach, we may then comprehend the variety of intellectual life with which our own planets and those of other systems may be peopled. Is it necessary that an immortal soul should be hung upon a skeleton of bone, or imprisoned in a cage of cartilage and of skin? Must it see with two eyes, and hear with two ears, and touch with ten fingers, and rest on a duality of limbs? May it not reside in a Polyphemus with one eyeball, or in an Argus with a hundred? May it not reign in the giant forms of the Titans, and direct the hundred hands of Briareus? But setting aside the ungainly creations of mythology, how many probable forms are there of beauty, and activity, and strength, which even the painter, the sculptor, and the poet could assign to the physical casket in which the diamond spirit may be enclosed; how many possible forms are there, beyond their invention, which eye hath not seen, nor the heart of man conceived?

"But no less varied may be the functions which the citizens of the spheres have to discharge,—no less diversified their modes of life,—and no less singular the localities in which they dwell. If this little world demands such duties from its occupants, and yields such varied pleasures in their discharge:—If the obligations of power, of wealth, of talent, and of charity to humanise our race, to unite them in one brotherhood of sympathy and love, and unfold to them the wonderful provisions for their benefit which have been made in the structure and preparation of their planetary home:—If these duties, so varied and numerous here, have required thousands of years to ripen their fruit of gold, what inconceivable and countless functions may we not assign to that plurality of intellectual communities, which have been settled, or are about to settle, in the celestial spheres? What deeds of heroism, moral, and perchance physical! What enterprises of philanthropy,—what achievements of genius must be required in empires so extensive, and in worlds so grand."

On a former occasion we endeavoured to show (as far as we are at all entitled to speak on this transcendent subject) all knowledge of the development of organism forces the conclusion that in planets physically so different the nature of the organisms must differ. The answer that "although different, these organisms may be analogous," is of little pertinence. Of course they may be analogous; but how? where does the analogy begin, and where cease? Is it analogy of Structure only, or of Function only? Have the Planetarians ears, yet hear not, or do they hear without ears? We know nothing; we may hope—whatever we please.

Do we then reject the idea that the planets are inhabited by intelligent beings? Not at all. It is quite possible that there may be intelligences analogous to those around us, even although none of the conditions which here are found universally indispensable are present there. The Physiologist may say that on this planet intelligence is only found accompanying a peculiar form of nervous tissue, and argue that unless that form of nervous tissue exist elsewhere no intelligence must be assumed. But what is true of our planet may possibly be untrue of a planet greatly differing in physical constitution, and to argue that there cannot be intelligence without a nervous

tissue would be as arbitrary as to argue that certain men could not have fire-arms, because they had no saltpetre with which to make gunpowder—the objector being unaware of the existence of gun-cotton. What gun-cotton is to gunpowder, some other form of material structure may be to nervous tissue; and hence it is legitimate to say, that the planets may be inhabited by intelligences, analogous to our own, although the organisms must be so different. It is, however, only a *maybe*. For own parts we neither regard intelligence as the highest form of Life possible, nor human beings as the great pattern of creation; and in saying the planets are inhabited, we do not with Sir DAVID, and others, think that they must necessarily contain inhabitants in any degree resembling the races which people our own. Sir DAVID cannot conceive any form of Life superior, or even essentially different. He says:—

"With so many striking points of resemblance between the Earth and Jupiter, the unprejudiced mind cannot resist the conclusion that Jupiter has been created like the Earth for the express purpose of being the seat of animal and intellectual life. The Atheist and the Infidel, the Christian and the Mahometan,—men of all creeds and nations and tongues,—the philosopher and the unlettered peasant, have all rejoiced in this universal truth; and we do not believe that any individual, who confides in the facts of astronomy, seriously rejects it. If such a person exists, we would gravely ask him for what purpose could so gigantic a world have been framed? Why does the sun give it days and nights and years? Why do its moons throw their silver light upon its continents and its seas? Why do its equatorial breezes blow perpetually over its plains? unless to supply the wants, and administer to the happiness of living beings."

It is easy to multiply questions when there is no one to answer. Sir DAVID "would gravely ask for *what purpose*" could certain things have been framed; but when he gravely asks that question, does he think any one presumptuous enough to gravely answer? Who can know the purpose of Creation? All answer, None can know it! Yet having made that answer, many straightway begin to dogmatise as if they knew!

SYDNEY SMITH.

The Works of the Reverend Sydney Smith. (New Edition.)

Longman and Co.

WE take the two distinguishing faculties of Sydney Smith's mind to have been genuine humour and genuine good sense. No rarer qualities than these can be claimed for any writer who labours, as he laboured, for the social good. You may count, by the dozen, men who can write profoundly, wittily, or learnedly, on all sorts of topics; but when you begin to reckon up the men who can write with real humour and real common sense, you tell them off by ones and twos. The world has not seen many instructors who have added as largely to its stores of innocent merriment as to its stores of useful wisdom. It was the triumph of Sydney Smith that he thoroughly succeeded in doing this great and admirable service for the English nation.

It would not be easy, we think, to exaggerate the good he did in his generation, as a writer principally, but sometimes as a speaker too. There was hardly an abuse or a prejudice of his time, which this honest, vigorous, and dauntless thinker did not set himself heartily to reform and to refute. The cause of Catholic Emancipation owes him a heavy debt of gratitude. In "Peter Plymley's Letters," in the *Edinburgh Review*, in pamphlets, and in speeches he helped it on, in public opinion, by unanswerable argument, and by irresistible persuasion; never failing in making its enemies ridiculous, and never wearying of strengthening the hands of its friends. So again with minor errors and abuses. His far-seeing common sense detected all their weak points at a glance; and his admirable logic and consummate irony assailed them, straightway, front to front, in every one of their chosen strongholds. The Game Laws, Libel Laws, and Debt Laws of his time he ripped open, and showed in their rottenness to everybody. He spoke out manfully against the abuses of Chancery; he dared to question boldly the infallibility of Bishops; he insisted on Counsel being allowed to Prisoners on trial for their lives; he exposed the mischievous follies of Missionaries; he vindicated Christianity and common sense against the blasphemies and absurdities of whole congregations of fanatics; he branded the repudiating men of Pennsylvania with the mark of their knavery before all the world; he rescued travelling mankind from journeying as prisoners behind locked railway doors—he did all these good services, and many more, in his generation, mostly at a time when it was not only hard work, but dangerous work, to attack established abuses in high places. He deserved well for this of his country; and he will live long, as a good citizen should, in the remembrance of his countrymen.

It has been urged as an objection against Sydney Smith, in some intolerant quarters, that he often had his own personal interests to forward when he was advancing the cause of social reform. Without stopping to prove from his writings in how few instances this could fairly be assumed—without citing any of the cases in which, beyond all question, he endangered instead of advancing his own interests, by speaking out manfully what he believed to be the truth—let us meet the objectors boldly on their own ground, and say that a man's personal interests and the interests of the nation are oftener identical, and oftener harmlessly mingled together by public speakers and writers, than many people suppose. Let us take two examples from Sydney Smith himself, because he is the special text that we are now speaking from. It was his personal interest to try if he could not shame the Pennsylvanians into revoking their fraudulent repudiation of the debt they owed him; so he sat down forthwith, and wrote letters to them publicly, in his most admirable vein of scorn and satire, humour and common sense. Will anybody say that all the interests of all his most Tory and retrograde fellow-bondholders were not identical with his interests when he was doing this?—Thus, again, he was personally interested, as a traveller, in not having all chance of escape cut off from him, in case of an accident, by being locked into every railway-carriage that he entered; and he wrote to make the gaolers of the locomotive prison-cells of his day give up their keys. Were not Sydney Smith's interests on that occasion the interests of the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the well-oiled clerical tail that hangs behind him—of Colonel Sibthorp, and all the lunatic landowners that ever shuddered at science and

wrestled against reform? We might multiply instances like these; but two are enough. The public good was never endangered to serve the private advantage of Sydney Smith. His personal interests (which, be it remembered, he always candidly confessed to, whenever they really guided his pen) have turned out since his time to be the personal interests of a large majority of the population. Excepting his admirably witty Letters to Archdeacon Singleton in which he certainly committed the error of trying to purify a rotten ecclesiastical cause by the application of rotten ecclesiastical remedies—what reforms did he write to advocate, which the growing good sense of the public has not already wrested, or is not prepared soon to wrest, from the Government of this country?

Turning from Sydney Smith, in his reforming capacity, to Sydney Smith in his literary capacity, we anticipate no dissent on the part of any of our readers, when we express our conviction that he was one of the greatest masters of the English language whom our prose literature has produced. Such an easy, natural, correct, and vigorous style as his, it has been given to very few great writers to possess. His exquisite humour, his strong and sensible thinking, his extraordinary fertility of illustration, and his direct and ready logic, are all presented throughout his writings, with the most admirable and unaffected felicity of language. On every subject he takes up, he writes clearly, concisely, variously, and with a straightforward genial vigour, peculiarly his own. We had noted many passages from his works for extract, which appear to us to be (apart from the original thinking which they contain) models of excellence in the science of English composition. But our space is not sufficient to give them at full length, and we cannot prevail on ourselves to mutilate these master-pieces of good writing, by presenting them to the reader piecemeal. One short extract, however, we may insert, for it is complete in itself. Read this—

"PRAYER for the then Duke of Cornwall, introduced by Mr. Sydney Smith, before the Sermon, in St. Paul's Cathedral."

"We pray also for that Infant of the Royal Race, whom in thy good Providence thou hast given us for our future King. We beseech thee so to mould his heart and fashion his spirit, that he may be a blessing and not an evil to the land of his birth. May he grow in favour with man, by leaving to its own force and direction the energy of a free People! May he grow in favour with God, by holding the faith in Christ fervently and feelingly, without feebleness, without fanaticism, without folly! As he will be the first man in these realms, so may he be the best;—disdaining to hide bad actions by high station, and endeavouring always, by the example of a strict and moral life, to repay those gifts which a loyal people are so willing to spare from their own necessities to a good king."

This may be thought a strange extract to make from the works of Sydney Smith. It is introduced here, first, for the reason already alleged, that it can be given in these pages as something complete in itself. Secondly, because we believe it to be as remarkable an example as can be offered of the clear, sensible, and manly thinking, and the terse, simple, unaffectedly graceful style for which Sydney Smith was remarkable. Read that short Prayer over again, and see if every hope be not expressed, in those few admirable lines, which a religious and a rational people can form for their future King.

The new edition which has suggested the remarks here offered, is, we believe, only just published. The volumes are conveniently portable in form, and are printed in a clear and readable type. While, however, we very gladly and sincerely commend the manner in which this edition has been got up, we must be permitted to express a hope, that at no very distant date, Messrs. Longman will put the wisdom and the wit of Sydney Smith within reach of the humblest book buyers in the country. Let us have all his works (including the noble Lectures on Moral Philosophy) in cheap weekly and monthly parts. The experiment has been excellently begun with Macaulay. Let it be continued, by all means, with a writer who may safely come next—for not even Macaulay has equalled him.

TRANSCAUCASIA.

Transcaucasia. Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian. By Baron von Haxthausen, Author of "Studien über die innere Zustände Russlands." Chapman and Hall.

THE reader who opens—or he who shuns—the work before us, concluding it, from its title, to be another of the numerous publications on the "Seat of War in the East," and expecting to find dissertations upon Schamyl and his warfare, and speculations as to the probable fate of Russian dominion in these territories, will find himself mistaken. The book was written in 1849, and has no reference to the war in Circassia, or to the present crisis. At the same time it ought to be read by all interested in these matters, being a most valuable and complete description of countries interesting in themselves, and peculiarly interesting at present, as the theatre of a great struggle for great principles.

Baron von Haxthausen's name is already celebrated as the author of exceedingly able and important works on the tenure of land, or relations of man to the soil (*agrarische Verhältnisse*), both in Prussia, his native country, and in Russia. The Czar appreciated his valuable labours in the cause of scientific inquiry, and afforded him every facility for pursuing them, an advantage most gratefully acknowledged by the Baron, and which naturally influences his favourable opinion of the Russian Government and institutions. But the object of the present work is so far from political, that this leaning need not offend the most ardent anti-Russian among his readers. It is a narrative of a journey undertaken under these auspices, in company with the Russian Prince Paul Lieven, through the countries of Georgia, Armenia, and Mingrelia, with the purpose of studying the races, creeds, languages, customs, and social organisation, of their inhabitants. How wide a field this district presents to the investigator, may be judged from the fact that seventy original languages are said to exist within its bounds!

Baron von Haxthausen says, in his preface, that two subjects treated of in the work appear to him of paramount interest: "the affinity, and, as it appears, national connexion between the customs, habits, and views of life of the race of the Ossetes, and those of the ancient Germans; and secondly, the important position which the Armenian nation occupies in the world, destined as it may probably be by Providence to take a leading part at some future time in diffusing Christianity and civilisation in the East." He has very interesting observations upon the wide dissemination of this singular

Armenian people, dispersed over three-quarters of the globe, yet retaining their nationality unbroken, as, no other race but the Jews have ever done; a wandering people, yet bound by the strictest social, political, and religious ties; a tolerant church, "recognising all baptised persons as Christians"; a talented and intellectual people, eager for instruction, and distinguished by energy and perseverance. We will make an extract from this chapter:—

"A comparatively small portion of this people inhabit their native land; the majority are dispersed over Asia, Europe, and Africa; nevertheless, wherever scattered, the Armenians all maintain an intimate connexion with their country, to which they fondly look, as the centre of their nationality and religion. The Patriarchate has throughout all ages exercised a magical power over them, notwithstanding that the dispersion of the people dated more than a thousand years. Armenia has, during this period, frequently changed masters; the Patriarchate has repeatedly been oppressed and humbled, and has often, for a long period, sunk morally and intellectually. And yet this nation has never been dissolved; the Armenians have preserved inviolate their attachment to their native country, their language and customs; they have adhered with fidelity to their religion, and the ritual observances of their national church.

"In a similar manner the Jews, although scattered over the face of the earth, yet maintain a secret and indissoluble bond of union and common interest. In every country they are as it were the servants,—but the time may come when they will virtually be the masters in their turn. Even at the present day, are they not to a great extent the arbiters of the fate of Europe? maintaining, on the one hand, the bond between the different states, by the mysterious power of wealth which they possess; and, on the other, loosening the ties of social life, and introducing or fostering ideas of change and revolution among the various peoples? In the Jewish nation stirs the Nemesis of the destiny of Europe. But, unlike the Armenians, the Jews have no central point of country and religion, no home of their faith and their affections; they have consequently no fulcrum on which to place the lever of their power, and are guided only by their instincts and spirit of union, in acting their part in the world's history.

"The Armenians appear to have a somewhat analogous destination, especially in Asia; they may be regarded as the heaven, which may work in the East, and resuscitate the well-nigh extinct spark of intellectual life; whilst they possess one great advantage over the Jews, in having this centre of life and action, political as well as religious.

"If Russia comprehends her position aright, she will extend to Armenia the boon for which that nation has so long yearned, of intellectual cultivation; but she must at the same time refrain from unnecessary interference in the government of the country. It is not Russian culture, still less any such as forms the drilling of the Russian bureaucracy, that the Armenians require; but a culture originating internally, from a basis of nationality. First and foremost they require the education of their clergy, moral, religious, and classical, combined with an acquirement of knowledge in temporal affairs, such as was cultivated by Mechtar, and at the present day by Narses. Armenian youths might be sent to Germany, instructed there for a few years, and then taken back to their own country, and placed as teachers in schools and colleges. In carrying out such a plan, Russia would have simply to leave to the institutions of the country their free action; the interference of the State is not required in Armenia, where everything must originate with the Patriarch, who gives the general impulse to the whole nation."

Our space forbids us to enter upon the question of the origin of the Ossetes, whose many resemblances, in customs, legends, and institutions, with the northern Germanic nations Baron von Haxthausen justly finds so interesting. Our own great authority on these subjects, Colonel Hamilton Smith, has observed and recorded several similar instances, proofs of original consanguinity, between the northern Europeans and many of the nations of this part of Asia, even to the Kaufirs and Affghan tribes, all as he pronounces, branches of the great family who descended together from the plateau of Thibet, prior to the emigration of the Western Ase.

The book contains a curious account of that singular people, the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers, as they are vulgarly, and not altogether correctly, called. The following extracts are interesting:—

"The Yezidis are monotheists, and are ignorant of the doctrine of the Trinity. Of the Holy Spirit they know nothing; they designate Christ as the Son of God, but do not recognise his divinity. They believe that Satan (Sheitan) was the first-created, greatest, and most exalted of the archangels; that the world was made by him at God's command, and that to him was entrusted its government; but that, for esteeming himself equal with God, he was banished from the Divine presence. Nevertheless he will be again received into favour,* and his kingdom (this world) restored to him. They suffer no one to speak ill of Satan; if the Tatar Mohammedan curse, '*Nalat Sheitanna*' (accursed be Satan!) be uttered in their presence, they are bound to slay either the speaker or themselves. On a certain day they offer to Satan thirty sheep; at Easter they sacrifice to Christ, but only a single sheep; Christ, they say, is merciful, and his favour easily procured, but Satan is not so readily propitiated. The sacrifices take place usually in the open country, but sometimes near the Armenian churches; they are offered chiefly to Satan, sometimes to Christ and the Saints, rarely or never directly to the Supreme Being. Satan is called *Nelik Tawo* (King Peacock).

"The following are the conclusions I came to respecting this singular people. They are not a Mohammedan sect, for they despise Mohammed and his doctrines; neither do they exhibit any trace of polytheism. Their religion is not of Parsee origin, for with them Satan is not, like Ahriman, a personification of the Evil Principle; nor does it appear that any vestiges of the Jewish law or rites exist amongst them; though it has been asserted that they hold in reverence the First Book of Moses. Still they are a religious sect, and not a distinct race. They are probably of Koordish descent, and their religion is an obscured, disfigured Christianity. They were, I imagine, originally a Gnostic sect, which in an early age separated or was expelled from the Christian Church. Their doctrine of Satan is evidently the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurgus; the position they assign to Christ reminds us of Arianism."

Here is a singular description of the social position of women among the Armenians:—

"The young unmarried people, of both sexes, enjoy perfect liberty, within the recognised limits of manners and propriety. Custom is here precisely the reverse of what prevails in the surrounding countries: whilst in the latter the purchase of a wife is the only usual form of contracting a marriage, until which time the girl remains in perfect seclusion,—among the Armenians, on the contrary, the young people of both sexes enjoy free social intercourse. The girls go where they like, unveiled and bareheaded; the young men carry on their love-suits freely and openly, and marriages of affection are of common occurrence. But with marriage the scene changes: the word which the young woman pronounces at the altar, in accepting her husband, is the last that is for a long time heard from her lips. From that moment she never appears, even in her own house, unveiled. She is never seen abroad in the public streets, except when she goes to church, which is only twice in the year, and then closely veiled. If a stranger enters the house and garden, she instantly conceals herself. With no person, not even her father or brother, is she allowed to exchange a single word; and she speaks to her husband only when they are alone. With the rest of the household she can only communicate by gestures, and by talking on her fingers. This silent reserve

* Baron von H—, on questioning them concerning this doctrine, was asked by a white-bearded Yezidi, "Dost thou believe that God is righteous and all-merciful?" "Yes," replied the Baron. "Was not Satan the best-loved of all the archangels?" resumed the questioner; "and will not God take pity on him who has been exiled so many thousands of years, and restore to him the dominion over the world he created? Will not Satan then reward the poor Yezidis, who alone have never spoken ill of him, and have suffered so much for him?" Martyrdom for the rights of Satan!—strange confusion of ideas, with something nevertheless touching!

which custom imperatively prescribes, the young wife maintains until she has borne her first child, from which period she becomes gradually emancipated from her constraint: she speaks to her new-born infant; then her mother-in-law is the first person she may address; she waits until she is allowed to converse with her own mother, then with her sister-in-law—she afterwards her own sisters. Now she begins to talk with the young girls in the house; but always in a gentle whisper, that none of the male part of the family may hear what is said. The wife, however, is not fully emancipated, her education is not completed, until after the lapse of six years! and then she can never speak with any strangers of the other sex, nor appear before them unveiled. If we examine closely into these social customs, in connection with the other phases of national life in Armenia, we cannot but recognize in them a great knowledge of human nature and of the heart.

"I have before observed that these usages are not of an oppressive nature, but merely an education of the female sex; for after the completion of her term of probation, the woman becomes free, enters on the full rights of the married state, and is the independent mistress of the house. If her husband is the head of the family, and she survives him, she succeeds to his place and privileges, and is obeyed with the same veneration as the father, the patriarch of the family. She then occupies a social rank higher than any woman in the East, and indeed one commanding more respect than even amongst Europeans. Abovian's mother was in this position."

This is curiously contrasted with the Circassian view of the same question. In the commencement of his journey, Baron von Haxthausen fell in with a Turkish vessel, freighted with Circassian girls for the Constantinople slave-market, which had been seized by a Russian man-of-war steamer. The Russian officer proposed to set the captives free. We give the result in Baron von Haxthausen's words:—

"In enjoining to the girls their liberation, the general ordered them to be informed that the choice was open to them, to be sent back to their homes with the prince of their own race, or to marry Russians and Cossacks of their free choice, to return with me to Germany, where all the women are free, or lastly to accompany the Turkish captain, who would sell them in the slave-market at Constantinople. The reader will hardly credit that, unanimously and without a moment's consideration, they exclaimed, 'To Constantinople—to be sold!' There is scarcely any people more proud and jealous of their liberty, and yet this was the voluntary answer of these women!"

"It, however, we investigate a little deeper the views, thoughts, and habits of this Eastern people, the answer will appear not unnatural, but in fact accordant with their notions. The purchase and sale of women is deeply rooted in the customs of the nation: every man buys his wife from the father or from the family. On the part of the women no feeling of shame is attached to the transaction, but rather a sense of honour; and indeed, before we can pronounce on the subject, we must be intimately acquainted with the circumstances, and must be able to place ourselves exactly in the position of the Circassians. In her own country, a Circassian girl lives in a state of slavish dependence on her father and brothers; her position is therefore raised when a man demands her in marriage, and stakes his fortune to obtain her, at the same time that he liberates her from the servile constraint of her family. Among Europeans, a rich man who marries a poor girl, generally appears actuated by compassion; she is congratulated on her good fortune, which is somewhat offensive to a woman's pride. If, on the contrary, a rich girl marries a poor man, she purchases her husband, and this is humiliating to him. When two marry who are equally well off, the match has, more or less, the air of a mercantile transaction; so that it might almost appear as if genuine and disinterested affection could only be found in a marriage between two poor persons. But here again the motive is often either one of mere passion, a need of mutual assistance and attendance, or a wish to establish a separate household. The Eastern girl sees in her purchase-price the test of her own value,—the higher the offer, the greater her worth. The purchase of women being the common practice among the Circassian tribes, slave-dealers to whom they are sold are to be regarded simply as agents, who dispose of them in marriage in Turkey. Their parents know that a better lot awaits them there than at home, and the girls willingly go to Turkey, where, as this traffic has existed for centuries, they constantly meet their kindred. In their own homes, moreover, the Circassian men are rough and imperious, and the women are slaves to all kinds of drudgery and menial labour; whereas the Turk is a patient and kind husband and a tender father."

"The efforts of Russia to prevent this traffic in women have proved wholly ineffectual: prohibition tends only to augment the evil. The trade is carried on throughout the winter months, when the Russian men-of-war are not at sea; and it is calculated that every sixth or seventh ship, with its whole freight of girls, is lost. It is said that twenty-five to thirty-five voyages are made annually, in which from five to six hundred girls are transported. The vessels generally sail from Sinope or Risch."

Did space permit, the book presents us still with many extracts of interest, not the least so being the popular tales and legends which the author has collected,—deeming them rightly most valuable keys to the character and origin of a people. But for these we must refer the reader to the volume itself.

PHILIP ROLLO.

Philip Rollo; or, the Scottish Musketeers. By James Grant, Author of the "Romance of War." 2 vols. Routledge and Co.

This novel is good of its kind; and the kind has many lovers. It is a tale of the Thirty Years' War. In this war, as is well known, many Scotch soldiers sought fortune and renown, fighting for Elizabeth of Bohemia and the Protestant cause. Philip Rollo is one of these;—a cadet of gentle blood—young, brave, and debonair, a fit hero for a romance. The story is full of moving accidents and good stirring military life, such as military life was in the days of Wallenstein and the great Gustavus. Some of the leading facts of that terrible war are well introduced here. The last assault in the siege of Stralsund, in Pomerania, we quote as a good specimen of the fighting in the book, and one that will be interesting to young warlike spirits in these days:—

"On came that triple column of the foe, and now one high discordant yell announced that they were within pistol-shot; but so thick was the smoke before us that we could scarcely see them. The wild Merodeurs made incredible efforts to bring on the coffin of their colonel, and seemed to enjoy the strange bravado of being led by a corpse to the assault; but every ray of soldiers who lifted it from the earth were shot down in succession, until at last the coffin, with its bearers and hundreds of others, tumbled pell-mell into the ditch before the breach, the way to which became literally choked by the bodies of the killed and wounded; and over these the rear companies of the Merodeurs, and Carmargo's Spanish pikemen, rushed mingling to the assault, like a flood of valour and fury."

"But the flood was stemmed, and that fury curbed by the hedge of Scottish pikes that met them in the breach, and the Spaniards and Germans were rolled back on each other, until the front ranks were literally hurled headlong on the rear. In vain, by clubbed muskets, by hewing with swords, and by grasping with the bare hand, they strove to beat, to cut, or tear a passage through the soldiers of Lord Spynie. The finest chivalry of England, of Normandy, and Aquitaine, had failed on fields of more than European renown, to force a passage through a rampart of Scottish pikes; and now, assuredly, that honour was not reserved for the Imperialists of the Duke of Friedland. Some, however, were torn out of Spynie's ranks, and slain or taken prisoner; among the former was the son of the Laird of Lays, first private gentleman of a company; and, among the latter, Sir John Munn of Ayrton, in the Merse. He was dragged by the throat and waist-belt into the midst of the enemy, by whom he was barbarously slashed and wounded."

"Over the heads of Spynie's men, and closing up into their ranks, our Highland musketeers poured their bullets point-blank into the faces of the stormers; while our brass-cannon, from an angle in the bastion, raked their column in flank. Here they slew many of our

best men; and Lumsden, my lieutenant, Captain McDonald, of the house of Keppoch, and nearly three hundred gallant clansmen, fell to rise no more. We shot down all the mounted officers, save those two who had been so conspicuous, one by his red plume, the other by his snow-white horse; and, during the lulls of the smoke and uproar, they were to be seen and heard encouraging their soldiers, by precept and example, to push on, and to die rather than flinch."

"That is Rupert-with-the-Red-plume!" I heard Sir Donald say; 'and he on the white horse is the Duke of Friedland; for who but he would have the black buffalo's head of Mecklenberg on his saddle-cloth? Fifty Scottish pounds to the man who knocks them both on the head.'"

"But they seemed to hear charmed lives, and though innumerable shots were fired at them through openings in the smoke, they were never hit; and now, fortunately for us, at the very moment our ammunition was beginning to fail, the enemy began to waver; and at such a time, and on such a duty, to waver is but a prelude to flight. They gave way on all hands, and retired with precipitation round the right flank of the Frankenknecht, leaving behind them a terrible scene of carnage and destruction."

"The killed lay in hundreds, and the wounded screaming for water, groaning, rolling, and throwing up their hands and feet, lay in hundreds more, among scattered arms, drums, standards; and then the horrors of the fosse, where a seething mass of living and dead lay piled over each other, head and heels, endwise and crosswise, trod upon, and pierced in a thousand places by the storm of shot that had augmented their number every moment, piling up a hecatomb of slain above the abandoned coffin of the once terrible and reckless Merode. Among their fallen riders, even in the ditch, as well as on the approach thereto, lay many noble horses, maddened by pain, kicking, plunging, snorting, and shrieking, (for a horse at times, can utter a frightful cry), as they rolled over the helpless wounded, with their iron hoofs breaking legs and ribs, or beating out the brains of those whom the musket-shot had already maimed elsewhere. Use and wont made us regardless of such a scene; and now we were sufficiently attracted by another."

The southern shore of the Baltic is the ground over which Philip Rollo moves. The author seems well acquainted with the geography of that part of the continent; all his descriptions of places are vigorous, and convey pictures to the mind.

The persons who figure in the course of the book are chiefly fictitious, but some few are historical. These last are mere sketches, but carefully drawn. An intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs, the body and spirit of the age, is evident throughout the book, which deserves to be popular with the novel-reading world.

IRVING AND MORMON.

Irvingism and Mormonism, tested by Scripture. By Emilus Guers. Edited by James Nisbet and Co.

WELL may the orthodox of the various sects strive to militate with all their force against such strange religious phenomena as Irvingism and Mormonism; and especially against the latter. To have a religion born, and to see it grow under their eyes; to witness its victories over the ignorant and imaginative, to see it build temples, found states, establish new hierarchies, and go forth triumphantly into the world, must create serious reflections in their minds as to the origin of cognate religions, and their wide dissemination in various forms. From the Judaic sect of Christians in the earliest ages, how many thousand sects have sprung; and it is impossible to wonder more at the rise of the Mormon or the Irving heresy than at the rise of other and far more commanding heresies in a worldly status. Each church believes itself to be the Church; believes its position on bases of Scripture and immemorial tradition impregnable; believes that it alone has the key to the divine enigmas, and valid passports to the world to come.

Remarkable as this nineteenth century is in so many aspects, its religious aspect may well challenge inquiry and command attention. Everybody admits, everybody feels that there has been a great outburst of religious fervour in this century; that in point of earnestness it is far beyond any age since Cromwell and Milton embodied the religious sentiment in England, and all the sects grieve over the vast diversity of the forms which it has assumed. In the Church of England, the Church *par excellence*, are there not a score, all sheltered under the wings of the thirty-nine articles? And out of the Church, are there not scores of other churches, with portentous Mormon growths, and resuscitated semi-Papal growths, flourishing on the outskirts? The religious-minded men who were shocked at the eighteenth century, with its political bishops, its port-wine pluralists, its fox-hunting rectors, its mania for negation, its want of belief, prayed earnestly, and strove vigorously for a resuscitation of the old spirit. And when it came, and freedom with it, then came faiths and doctrines of a thousand hues, and the result was, not national unity of belief, but sectional differences, with Mormonism as a kind of flower and crown of the whole, travestying the growth of Christianity itself. Surely these are facts portending much, far more perhaps than the contending sects would be willing to admit; for it may be that they are blind workers, and that the time is at hand when, with a wiser interpretation of the sum total of revealed things, there shall arise again religious unity.

Here is a book that calls up these reflections. It contains the view which a Protestant dissentient takes of Mormonism and Irvingism, both the outgrowths of an undue estimate of the value of ecclesiastical forms and functions as distinguished from spiritual realities. It describes each and compares the two; finds of course both wanting, and condemns both; and the author puts forward his own views and opinions as the true views and opinions. The prefatory notice adds something to our general knowledge of Edward Irving; and to students of religions the parallel between what Irving devised, and Joe Smith invented to save their kind, is not devoid of interest. But the great fact which this little book again brings before us is the anarchy of religious opinion which exists contemporaneously with an all but universal prevalence of sound religious feeling. It forcibly suggests the reflection that where so much variety of doctrine, and so many mechanical agencies affect to spring legitimately and irresistibly from the same premises and the same source, something must be wrong in the terms and accepted facts to admit of so many inferences; and the question insists upon being put—have any of these interpreters the right to pretend to exclusive insight and infallible process in perceiving and building up doctrine? If Irving failed, if Smith invented, why not others? All are human and all are fallible.

The Arts.

GRISI IN LUCREZIA BORGIA.

ONE night more, and the OPERA audience will have seen the last of Grisi in the greatest of all her parts. In *Lucrezia Borgia*, she has reigned, season after season, unrivalled and unapproached. Throughout the whole range of her characters none have more lavishly displayed her wonderful stage acquirements, and her matchless stage gifts, than this; and none can be more fitly chosen as a text from which to speak our few farewell words of admiration to an artist who has deserved warmer recognition from public gratitude than any other singer of her time.

It has always struck us that the rare charm of Grisi is the natural beauty there is in everything that she does. Neither her singing nor her acting suggest the idea that she ever had any stage defects to get over at any period of her career. She is not more evidently a born beauty, than a born actress, and a born singer. We cannot associate the notion of effort with anything that she does. All her changes of expression and attitude when she is acting are spontaneous—they seem like the natural suggestions of the moment, not like effects that have been pre-considered and carefully prepared for. So again with her singing. In the days when her magnificent vocal gifts were in their perfection, people placed in remote parts of the theatre used to remark that Grisi's voice "always sounded as if it was close at their ears." And yet, when you looked at her on the stage, you saw no strain, no effort that suggested an idea of resulting fatigue. It seemed her natural condition to be singing as she was singing then—to be letting the notes pour from her lips, just as the song pours from a bird. The natural beauty of the singing, the natural beauty of the acting that accompanied it, the natural beauty of the woman herself, were all one; were all harmonised, in the most easy, graceful, and perfect accord with each other.

This we believe to have been the great secret of Grisi's unrivalled popularity. The public have had to make allowances for other favourites; they have never had any to make for her. They have never been obliged to forget her face in her acting, or her acting in her singing. She has not had her share of stage attractions—Nature and Art together have given her the monopoly of all.

Her performance in *Lucrezia Borgia*, on Monday night, was, as a piece of acting, worthy, and more than worthy, of her great reputation. From her first entry to her death scene, she was as grandly, as perfectly, as enchantingly as ever, the terrible mother of Victor Hugo's terrible tragedy. No stage situation in any other opera in her repertory shows the inherent beauty that there is in her acting so remarkably, to our thinking, as the situation in the second act of *Lucrezia*, from the time when she is forced into pouring out the poisoned wine for her son, to the end of the act. The terror, the agony, the despair, the wild hope, the frantic exultation which she is required to express in this scene, she does thoroughly and unflinchingly express; but while she shrinks from none of the tremendous dramatic necessities of that tremendous situation, she preserves the charm, the irresistible fascination of her presence throughout it. The fatal, fearful Borgia beauty pierces through every action and every look. That beauty is in the despair of her attitude, when she sinks back into her seat after pouring out the poisoned wine—that beauty is in every rapid change of her expression in the after-scene with her son—that beauty is in the fierce exultation with which she throws herself before the door on his departure, and bars the passage of it to the men who enter the room immediately after he has gone. Throughout the whole scene there is no repelling distortion of feature, no ugly angularity of gesture; there is always beauty in the terror—always grace in the despair—the actress, remember, being all the while equal to every one of the most rigid dramatic requirements of the scene. Such a performance of *Lucrezia* as this we must not expect to see after Grisi has left the stage. The part may be admirably acted by other women in other ways—in her way it will never be acted again.

As to her singing on Monday night, it would be idle and insincere not to say at the outset that her voice is altered and worn. But we remembered with gratitude and respect that it had been worn during an unexampled career of public service; we remembered the many, many seasons during which this admirable and conscientious artist had exerted herself for the delight of her audiences; never trifling with them, never forgetting what was due from herself to her art—we remembered this; we still felt the influence of the beauty and the grace that cannot leave her, in her management of her voice; and though some of its notes might be less soft and less clear than of old, it filled us with sensations which younger and fresher tones would have failed to awaken. She sang finely in the second act—magnificently in the third. When the curtain fell, we left the theatre with the conviction that we should not hear *Lucrezia*'s last famous "air" before Gennaro's death, sung as Grisi can still sing it, for many and many an opera season to come.

Of the other performers in the opera, it is not necessary to speak. We shall have future opportunities of referring to them; and we cannot prevail on ourselves to echo the usual commonplaces about such admirable acting as Ronconi's in *Don Alphonso*, in a line or two at the end of an article. We prefer filling the last place in this notice with a concluding word of protest against the ungrateful coldness of Grisi's audience on Monday night. A more exasperatingly unimpressible set of people we never remember seeing in Covent-garden or any other theatre, on any former occasion. May the Law of Chances be true to its scattering mission, and prevent the remotest possibility of their ever assembling in a place of public amusement again!

LA PROMISE.

ALTHOUGH the new opera, *La Promise*, had a run of 100 nights at the THEATRE LYRIQUE, we must confess to have derived very moderate entertainment indeed from its performance at the ST. JAMES'S THEATRE. The drama turns upon the old story of a lady being promised in marriage, by her father, to a gentleman whom she does not love, but whom she is, nevertheless, heroically ready to marry just at the moment when the gentleman

whom she does love appears on the scene, and complicates the proceedings in the usual way. The bridegroom in the present instance is, of all the eccentric characters in the world, a generous Corsair, with the strictest notions of honour! The unhappy lover is a sentimental French sailor—a character which we pronounce to be, upon the whole, invested with even more enormous powers of stage boredom, than the sentimental English sailor of our own nautical drama. The brave marin is represented at the ST. JAMES'S THEATRE by a very short gentleman of superhuman energy, who expressed his emotions with such violence, by incessantly flinging his arms about and slapping his breast, that we quite felt for him in a physical point of view. Active and noisy, however, as he was, the Corsair (represented by a gentleman twice his size, with four times his volume of voice) was more than a match for him—for the Corsair never stood still on the stage for a moment, and never, either in speaking or singing, pitched his voice a note below the hearty piratical roar with which he "hailed" the stage on his first entry. Whether the sentimental sailor and the honourable Corsair fatigued themselves by their exertions we cannot say, but we can assure them that they succeeded, to all outward appearance, in thoroughly fatiguing their audience.

The music to *La Promise* is composed by M. Clapisson—a young musician, we believe, and as such entitled to be judged with all forbearance and kindness. His music is in many places very pretty and very lively, but shows as yet, judging by *La Promise*, no decided originality of idea. His recollections of other composers seem to be still a little too vividly present to his mind. The overture to *La Promise* begins and ends, for example, with Donizetti's air, "Oh, luce di quest'anima;" and our old, old friend, the "Highland laddie," has had more to do with the invention of one of the liveliest choruses in the first act than M. Clapisson himself. However, little defects of this kind constantly accompany the early practice of musicians in their art; and we hope to hear more of M. Clapisson on some future occasion, when his style may be formed, and when he may also, it is to be hoped, have a better drama than *La Promise* to set to music.

Madame Cabel acted a poor part with delightful grace and vivacity, and sang charmingly; her ease, sweetness, and marvellous execution of florid passages drawing forth the only hearty applause of the evening. When are we to have the pleasure of hearing her sing some of Auber's music?

The next novelty is to be Adolphe Adam's *Roi des Halles*. The theatre was well filled on Monday night, and the speculation bids fair already, we hope, to be remunerative. Nothing is wanted at present to make the troupe of the THEATRE LYRIQUE successful but a little less noise and exaggeration in the singing and acting of the principal male members of the company.

SUNSHINE THROUGH THE CLOUDS.

UNDER this title was produced at the LYCEUM, on Thursday night, an English adaptation of *La Joie Fait Peur*. Everyone who takes the smallest interest in dramatic affairs must have heard of Madame de Girardin's admirable play. Most persons, though they may not have seen it acted at the ST. JAMES'S THEATRE, know its story by report. To the few who do not, it is only necessary to say that the interest of this exquisite little drama turns on the difficulty of disclosing to a heartbroken mother that the son she has mourned as dead, has been unexpectedly preserved, and has returned to his home, undiscovered, in the first instance, by anyone but an old servant of the family. The manner in which this good news is gently, gradually, and tremblingly communicated to the mother by her daughter, by her son's betrothed wife, by her son's friend, and by the old servant, comprises the whole "story" of the play—a story embodying, as it appears to us, one of the most natural, touching, and admirably dramatic ideas ever worked out on the stage. We detect but one blemish in this otherwise perfect work. The daughter tries, at the outset, to prepare her mother's mind for the disclosure which is to come, by telling her that the son of a poor woman in the neighbourhood has not perished, as had been reported, in a shipwreck. The mother goes immediately to this poor woman's house, finds that no such good news has been received there, and returns with her first faint vague suspicion of the truth. We must confess to having felt at that part of the play that the feelings of the one mother had been unfairly trifled with, in order to spare the feelings of the other. This defect—for it is assuredly a defect—we should hardly have noticed if the drama had not been so pre-eminently excellent as a work of art, and had not appealed so delicately and tenderly to the sympathies of the audience in every other scene.

The adapter (whose name was not in the bill) has performed his task with great literary skill, and with a thorough appreciation of the subtle beauties of the original drama. Here and there a word or two of the comic kind, which produced a laugh from the audience, at the time when the play was rising to its climax of pathetic interest, would be better changed, or omitted. Barring this very slight objection, *Sunshine through the Clouds* deserves the warmest approval, as a graceful and delightful picture of English family life; and we are happy to be able to add that it met with the completest success. Hearty and prolonged applause followed the fall of the curtain from all parts of the theatre.

Before we say a word about the performance, we must premise that this play presents great and unusual difficulties to be overcome in the acting—especially in the principal male character, that of the old servant. All his little eccentricities are set forth with the most perfect truth to nature; but with a certain quietness and tenderness, wherever his oddities approach to humour, beautifully in harmony with the touching and solemn interest of the story. To preserve this harmony in the acting, and to make the spectators so feel it that their smiles shall constantly tremble on the confines of tears, would be an arduous achievement to compass with any audience. With an English audience—depraved, as to taste, by the doggel ridicule of all the higher and purer illusions of the stage in which burlesque-writers have been suffered to indulge for many years past—the difficulties of making such a character as that of the old servant pathetic as well as amusing, must be necessarily of the most formidable kind; and when we state, in common candour, that they were not overcome by Mr. Frank Mathews, who acted

the part of Old Sandford, we desire to attach no blame to that gentleman for not producing a result which we believe him to be physically incapable of effecting. His first entrance gave us great hopes, but as soon as the audience began to laugh, this excellent comedian, very naturally, forgot the pathetic side of his character, and exerted himself to amuse everybody in his usual hearty, genial, irresistible way. The consequence was that the vast majority of the spectators were all roaring with laughter, just at the time when the pathetic and breathless interest of the drama—the gradual breaking of the news of the son's escape to his mother—began to rise, by slow dramatic degrees, to its grand climax.

The whole credit of restoring the audience to their senses and of making them feel the real pathos and beauty of the play, belongs to Madame Vestris alone. Some seasons ago, this lady astonished those who were not aware of the versatility of her talents, by her admirable serious acting in *The Day of Reckoning*. The impression she then produced she strengthened immensely on Thursday night, by her performance of the part of the mother. At the critical point of the play she awoke the laughing audience into silence; and as the scene proceeded, she did more—she drew tears from them. Such true, quietly mournful, exquisitely unaffected acting as hers has not been seen on the English stage for many a long day. The mother's helpless, hopeless grief—then the first dawning interest and perplexity—the faint suspicion—the agony of vague hope—the oppression of growing certainty—the final ecstasy of delight—all these gradations of emotion were expressed with a pathos, and truth to nature which told powerfully on the audience, and ensured the success of the play. It is a real pleasure, on welcoming Madame Vestris back to the stage, after her long illness, to be able to congratulate her on having achieved, under circumstances of great dramatic difficulty, a genuine dramatic success.

In relation to the other performers we have only to add that Miss Hughes and Miss Oliver looked and acted very prettily, and took evident pains to do their best. The play was carefully got up, and the

"stage business," excepting one or two unimportant slips, proceeded as neatly and smoothly as usual at this well-managed theatre. Madame Vestris was heartily recalled at the fall of the curtain.

THE ENGLISH GLEE AND MADRIGAL UNION.

The first concert of the season took place on Monday last at Willis's Rooms, and was fairly attended. The lovers of old English song were gratified by the style in which their never-to-be-forgotten favourites were performed—such as "Blest pair of sirens," "Discord, dire sister," or "When winds breathe soft." One of the best things of its kind is Dr. Cooke's glee and chorus, "Hand in hand, with fairy grace," which was charmingly sung. For this composition the voices in the chorus were numerous enough; but in some others we should have been glad of more voices—and if of as good a quality as those already possessed, so much the better.

Our friend Vivian and others have said odious and despicable things against the British tenor. We ourselves have often agreed with them cordially (under Harrisonian provocation), and have felt that Italy is your only country for the growth of tenors. But we never hear Mr. Lockey sing, as he can sing and did sing on Monday, without feeling that he too is a tenor, —rich, clear, full of the true *timbre*, and not in the least Brummagem. Not a tenor for Italian opera, perhaps—no Mario, certainly—such a tenor would be too fine for every-day purposes, and one would like to keep him for Sundays and holidays, "if," as Rosalind says, "one might have another for work-a-days." And, in that case, our tenor for work-a-days would be Lockey. Mrs. Lockey and Mrs. Endersohn, Phillips and Hobbs, sang with knowledge and feeling. The quality of their voices is too well known and too generally approved in the concert-room to need any comment on the present occasion.

Hatton's glee, "The hunt is up," is very spirited, and deserved its encore. His performance of Handel's "Harmonious Blacksmith" on the pianoforte was an agreeable interlude.

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	99	Russian Bonds, 5 per	98 1/2
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.....	103	Cents 1822	98 1/2
Chilian 6 per Cents.....	103	Russian 41 per Cents.....	80 1/2
Danish 5 per Cents.....	31	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. 191	
Ecuador Bonds.....	31	Spanish Committee Cert.	
Mexican 3 per Cents.....	24 1/2	of Coup. not fun.	
Mexican 3 per Ct. for		Venezuela 31 per Cents.....	24 1/2
Acc. June 15	23 1/2	Belgian 41 per Cents.....	
Portuguese 4 per Cents.....	40 1/2	Dutch 24 per Cents.....	20 1/2
Portuguese 5 p. Cents.....		Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. 89 1/2	

OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday evening, June 19th, will be repeated the new and very successful Opera entitled *LA PROMISE*. Marie, Madame Marie Cabel. And on Wednesday next, will be produced (for the first time in this country) Donizetti's French Opera Comique, in two acts, entitled *LA FILLE DU REGIMENT*. Marie (Josephine Cabel), Madame Marie Cabel. With other attractive entertainments.

Private Boxes and Stalls at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street, and at the Box-office.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN.

Monday and Tuesday will be performed

HUSH MONEY.

Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, Emery, Vincent, Rivers, White, Miss Dorrer, Miss Stevens, and Mrs. A. Wigan.

After which **THE FIRST NIGHT.**

Characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, Franks, H. Cooper, Vincent, Miss P. Horton, and Miss E. Ormonde.

To conclude with **THE MUMMY.**

Toby Tramp, Mr. F. Robson.

On Wednesday a Performance for the Benefit of

Mr. F. ROBSON.

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday,

HUSH MONEY;

After which a Farce called

A MODEL OF A WIFE.

Pygmalion Bonfroid, Mr. Alfred Wigan.

To conclude with

THE WANDERING MINSTREL.

Jem Bagg, Mr. F. Robson.

THE DISCOVERIES OF NINEVEH.

A. H. LAYARD, Esq., M.P., will deliver a LECTURE on the DISCOVERIES at NINEVEH, illustrated by Maps and Diagrams, at CLAREMONT CHAPEL, Pentonville, on behalf of the Islington British Schools, on Wednesday Evening next, June 21st, at Seven o'clock. Mr. Alderman Challis in the Chair. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d., and 6d. each, may be obtained at Messrs. Hatchard's, 137, Piccadilly; Nisbet, Berners-street; Seeley's, Fleet-street; Partridge, 34, Paternoster-row; Mr. Shaw, 27, Southampton-row; Mr. Rowe 124, Chancery-lane; Mr. Stirling, Upper-street, Islington; and Mr. E. H. 18, Upper-street, Islington.—Early application for tickets is requisite.

DEAFNESS, SINGING IN EARS, and

Nervous Deafness. New mode of instantly restoring hearing without operation, pain, or use of instruments. By one Consultation, a permanent cure is guaranteed to any sufferer, although partially or totally deaf for forty or fifty years. This extraordinary discovery is known and practised only by Dr. HOGHTON, the eminent Aurist of the Suffolk-place Institution, and is applied by him daily on numbers of deaf applicants with perfect success in every case, enabling deaf persons instantly to hear conversation with ease and delight. Testimonials can be seen from the most eminent Physicians in England. Also certificates from all the London Hospitals and Dispensaries, and numbers of letters from Patients cured, in all grades of society from the Peer to the Peasant. Dr. HOGHTON, Member of the London Royal College of Surgeons 2nd May, 1845; L.A.C., 36th April, 1846. Consultations every day from 10 till 4, without payment of fee, at his residence, 9, SUFFOLK-PLACE, PALL-MALL, LONDON.

Just published, Self-Cure of Deafness, for Country Patients; a stop to empiricism, quackery, and exorbitant fees, sent on receipt of Seven Stamps, FREE.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

CAMPBELL—June 8, at Nkpton Rectory, the Hon. Mrs. Campbell; a daughter, still-born.

DUDLEY—June 11, at Peshurst Castle, Kent, the Lady De Lisle and Dudley; a son.

ONSLOW—June 9, the wife of Captain Omslow; a son.

ROSSE—June 13, at Connaught-place, the Countess of Rosse; a son.

MARRIAGES.

HOLDEN—WHITE—June 10, at St. George's Hanover-square, Captain Holden, Thirteenth Light Dragoons, Palace-house, Lancashire, to Ellen, eldest daughter of Colonel H. Wood, of Woodland, county of Dublin.

MILFORD—WICKLOW—June 8, at St. James's Church, Lord Milford to Anne Jane, second daughter of the Earl and Countess of Wicklow.

MORSHEAD—HARCOURT—June 8, at St. George's Hanover-square, Sir Warwick Morshead, Bart., to Selina Vernon Harcourt.

WAY—MACDONALD—June 10, at St. Marylebone, Gregory Lewis Way, Esq., late Major in H. M.'s Twentieth Regiment, and fourth son of the late B. Way, Esq., of Denham-park, Bucks, to Mary Hay, second daughter of the late William Macdonald, Esq., and grand-daughter of the late Sir William Dunbar, of Durn, Bart.

DEATHS.

BLACKWOOD—May 26, at Athens, Sir Henry Blackwood, Bart., Lieutenant R.N., of H. M.'s ship *Leander*.

LAWRENCE—June 6, at East Harptree, Somersetshire, John Rogers Lawrence, Captain in the Hon. East India Company's Naval Service, aged eighty-two.

PALMER—June 10, Charles Richard, youngest son of Mr. Robert Palmer, Powis-place, Bloomsbury, aged thirteen.

TUNFELL—June 15, at Catton-hall, Derbyshire, the Right Hon. Henry Tunfell, late M.P. for Devonport.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 16, 1854.

AFTER a storm comes a calm—and since the settlement of the Consol account, there has been very little variety in the funds. Money being easier, good prices have been supported, and the few "Bears" that are left must look blank enough. Whether the enduring and powerful of that party, indeed, may not see laid ahead is a question. Here we have Prussia and Austria about to join the Western Powers in appearance, and that may send Consols up for a time. But it is so certain that these Powers will be as good as their word—or is their ultimatum despatched to St. Petersburg a fact or a mere ruse—to give the Czar breathing time and baffle his opponents, France and England? A reverse in the Dobruddra, or a general action—say only *drum*—will entail fresh outlay and renewed expenses, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer may have a pill in preparation to be administered before the House of Commons breaks up, in the shape of a loan or a fresh issue of Exchequer-bills.

The question is what real success have we as yet obtained. Have not the operations on the Circassian coast been anticipated by Russia? A new Russian loan is talked of in Holland, and that ambitious race has always been ready to give credit to the successors of Peter the Great.

Railway shares have been very firm—both foreign and British. Crystal Palace has met with a great fall—that undertaking would seem to be out of favour for the time.

Land Companies maintain their value; and Chartered Joint-Stock Banks are inquired after. Mining shares very flat; the faith of the public in Californian gold mines seems likely to be greatly shaken. The Nouveau Monde report has opened the eyes of speculators; Peninsula mine have been dealt in. Mr. Hitchens and one of the directors are now on the spot—which would indicate that they think well of this property. Overhofs have had their meeting—and the directors maintain that, notwithstanding the great outlay, they will be in a position in six months time to pay a dividend of 15 per cent. on their capital. Port Royals threaten to be as good as St. John del Rey, and have been dealt in at advanced prices, since the West India mail arrived. Imperial Brazil have recorded again, in the absence of remittances, and the report of the wonderful Yacagins not being confirmed.

This morning's prices are not quite so good; yet money is said to be easier, and the continental news no worse.

Consols for the opening were first quoted at 91, 91 1/2, since that have been done at 91, 91 1/2, and close at four o'clock, at 91, 91 1/2.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, June 16.

LOCAL TRADE.—The supplies of all Grain are moderate. The unfavourable accounts of the weather and the crops from France, and the revival of the demand for that country, holders ask an advance of 2s. per quarter on Wheat, at which advance a good business has been done. Barley without alteration. Oats meet a steady sale at 6d. per quarter advance.

FREE ON BOARD.—There has been no improvement in the demand for England since our last, importers continuing to act with extreme caution. The purchases which have been made for French account in England and Belgium have caused the holders in the Baltic ports to ask higher rates; but in the absence of any increase in the demand, these have not been obtainable.

The French markets continue to advance. Considerable purchases of American Flour have been made here and in Liverpool for French account.

The markets in the United States continue without much alteration. There are very unfavourable reports of the growing crops in Virginia.

The answer of Sir James Graham to Mr. Horsfall on Tuesday night fully bears out the remarks made in our last, relative to the blockade of the port in the White Baltic and Black Seas; viz. that the blockade had commenced in the two latter, and that in the former our ships were only coasting to be joined by the French squadron. Some large transactions had taken place in Archangel produce before this announcement, but holders will not now sell except at much higher rates. We have little doubt, however, that the contracts made will be executed, as the vessels are on the coast, and will most likely be loaded before the blockade commences.

FLOATING TRADE.—The past has been a lifeless week in floating cargoes. There are very few for sale, and those offered consist chiefly of Egyptian and other low qualities of Mediterranean, for which there is no great demand at present. Some demand exists for these qualities for the Continent, but not in cargoes.

Some sales have been readily made free on board at the prices above noted.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	205	206	206	206	204	204
3 per Cent. Red.	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91
3 per Cent. Con. An.	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2
Consols for Account	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2
31 per Cent. An.	92	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2
New 2 1/2 per Cents	44	44	44	44	44	44
Long Ans. 1850	44	44	44	44	44	44
India Stock	par	par	par	par	par	par
Ditto Bonds, £1000	par	par	par	par	par	par
Ditto, under £1000	par	par	par	par	par	par
Ex. Bills, £1000	par	par	par	par	par	par
Ditto, £500	par	par	par	par	par	par
Ditto, Small	5 p	5 p	5 p	5 p	5 p	5 p

CAUTION.

MESSRS. ALLSOPP and SONS find it necessary to caution the Public, and especially Shippers of their Ales to the Colonies, against frauds committed by parties in selling spurious Ales for those of Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS.

Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS have felt compelled, by the extent to which this disgraceful practice has been carried, to proceed, in several cases, by obtaining Injunctions from the Court of Chancery, and have ultimately been driven to prosecute criminally, for the commission of this offense. They beg to call attention to the case of "The Queen v. Gray and Goslin," in which Lord Campbell sentenced the parties charged to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour.—*Vide Times and Morning Advertiser of the 18th May.*

Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS will thank all persons having reason to doubt the genuineness of any article sold under their name, to send them the earliest information, in order that immediate steps may be taken for prosecuting the Parties.

Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS will be happy to furnish the names of respectable houses, where a supply of their Ales may be depended on, as genuine from the Brewery. Brewery, Burton-on-Trent.

DUTY OFF TEA.—The prices of all our TEAS again REDUCED 4d. per pound.

Strong Congou Tea, 3s. 2d., 2s. 10d., 3s.; former prices, 3s., 2s. 2d., 3s. 4d.
 Rich Souchong Tea, 3s. 2d., 3s. 4d., 3s. 8d.; former prices, 3s. 6d., 3s. 8d., 4s.
 Best Assam Pekoe Souchong Tea, 4s.; former price, 4s. 4d.
 Prime Gunpowder Tea, 3s. 8d., 4s., 4s. 4d., 4s. 8d.; former prices, 4s., 4s. 4d., 4s. 8d., and 5s.
 The Best Pearl Gunpowder, 3s.; former price, 3s. 4d.
 Prime Coffee, 1s., 1s. 2d., 1s. 3d., 1s. 4d. Prime Mocha, 1s. 4d.
 Rare choice Mocha Coffee (twenty years old), 1s. 6d.
 Sugars are supplied at market prices.
 All goods sent carriage free, by our own vans, if within eight miles. Teas, coffees, and spices sent carriage free to any railway station or market-town in England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards.
 PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea Merchants, 8, King William-street, City, London.
 A general price-current sent post free on application.

ANOTHER REDUCTION OF FOUR-PENCE THE POUND IN THE DUTY ON TEA.

—In accordance with our usual practice of always being FIRST to give the Public the full ADVANTAGE of every REDUCTION in the value of our goods, we have at once lowered the prices of all our Teas to fullest extent of the REDUCTION OF DUTY, and we are determined, so far as we are concerned, that the Public shall reap the full benefit of this act of the Government.

	s.	d.
The Best Pekoe Congou	3	8 the pound.
Strong Breakfast ditto	3	0 "
Good sound ditto	2	8 "
Choice Gunpowder	4	8 "
Finest Young Hyson	4	8 "
Good Plantation Coffee	1	0 "
Cuba, Jamaica or Costa Rica	1	4 "
Choice old Mocha	1	0 "
The Best Homoeopathic Cocoa	1	0 "

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

CULLINGHAM and COMPANY,
 Tea-merchants and Dealers,
 27, SKINNER-STREET, SNOW-HILL, CITY.

COCOA is a NUT, which, besides *farinaceous* substance, contains a *bland oil*, less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa is a most valuable article of diet, more particularly when, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance is so perfectly incorporated with the oil, that the one will prevent the other from separating. Such a union is presented in the Cocoa prepared by JAMES EPPS. The delightful flavour, in part dependent upon the oil, is retained, and the whole preparation is one suited to the most delicate stomach. 1s. 6d. per lb. JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, near the British Museum; 82, Old Broad-street, City, a few doors from the Bank of England; and Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

In regard to purity, see the report of the Analytical Sanitary Commission, in *The Lancet*, July 5, 1851.

GLENFIELD PATENT STARCH

(used in Her Majesty's Laundry), and WOTHERSPOON'S Machine-made CONFECTIONERY, MARMALADE, JAMS, JELLIES, &c. (which gained the Prize Medal of 1851). May be had of all Grocers; wholesale of Wother Spoon, Mackay, and Co., 66, Queen-street, Cheapside, London.

THE CHOLERA!!!

Prevented by the destruction of all noxious effluvia. CREW'S DISINFECTING FLUID, recommended by the College of Physicians, the Cheapest and strongest Chloride of Zinc. Quarts, 2s.; pints, 1s.; half-pints, 6d. Sold by all Chemists, Druggists, and Shipping Agents, and at Commercial Wharf, Mile-end, London.

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent, continues supplying the Public with the METROPOLITAN and PROVINCIAL JOINT-STOCK BREWERY COMPANY'S ALES and STOUT, in Bottles of the Standard Imperial Measure, at the prices below:—

	s.	d.
Alc or Stout	quarts	7 6 per doz.
Do do	pints	4 6 "
Do do	half pints	2 6 "

All Orders to be sent to the Wholesale and Retail Stores, 13, Upper Wellington-street, Strand.

Terms Cash. WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent.
 The Company's Goods supplied in Casks to Families.

FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE-IRONS,

Buyers of the above are requested, before finally deciding, to visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S SHOW-ROOMS, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street), Nos. 1 & 2, Newman-street, and 4 & 5, Perry's-place. They are the largest in the world, and contain such an assortment of FENDERS, STOVES, RANGES, FIRE-IRONS, and GENERAL IRONMONGERY, as cannot be approached elsewhere, either for variety, novelty, beauty of design, or exquisiteness of workmanship. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments and two sets of bars, 2l. 14s. to 5l. 10s.; ditto with ornolu ornaments and two sets of bars, 5l. 10s. to 12l. 12s.; Bronzed Fenders complete, with standards, from 7s. to 3l.; Steel Fenders from 2l. 15s. to 6l.; ditto, with rich ornolu ornaments, from 2l. 15s. to 7l. 7s.; Fire-irons from 1s. 3d. the set to 4l. 4s. Sylvester and all other Patent Stoves, with radiating hearth plates. All which he is enabled to sell at these very reduced charges.

Firstly—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and Secondly—From those purchases being made exclusively for cash.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW-ROOMS (all communicating) exclusive of the Shop, devoted solely to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 1, 2, and 3, NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 and 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

NOVELTY IN BEDSTEADS.—

HAMMOND'S newly-invented ORIENTAL OTTOMAN, a handsome ornament in a room, forms a full-sized bedstead for two persons on a moment's notice; price, mattress complete, 35s. The largest stock of Bedsteads, Beds, Mattresses, and Pillows in the kingdom, at HAMMOND'S Bedding Factories, 14, High Holborn, London.

DR. DE JONGH'S

LIGHT BROWN COD LIVER OIL.

PREPARED FOR MEDICINAL USE IN THE LOFFODEN ISLES, NORWAY, AND PUT TO THE TEST OF CHEMICAL ANALYSIS. THE MOST EFFECTUAL REMEDY FOR CONSUMPTION, BRONCHITIS, ASTHMA, GOUT, CHRONIC RHEUMATISM, AND ALL SCROFULOUS DISEASES.

Approved of and recommended by BERZELIUS, LIEBIG, WOEHLER, JONATHAN PEREIRA, FOURQUIER, and numerous other eminent medical men and scientific chemists in Europe.

Specially rewarded with medals by the Governments of Belgium and the Netherlands.

Has almost entirely superseded all other kinds on the Continent, in consequence of its proved superior power and efficacy—effecting a cure much more rapidly.

Contains iodine, phosphate of chalk, volatile acid, and the elements of the bile—in short, all its most active and essential principles—in larger quantities than the pale oils made in England and Newfoundland, deprived mainly of these by their mode of preparation.

A pamphlet by Dr. de Jongh, with detailed remarks upon its superiority, directions for use, cases in which it has been prescribed with the greatest effect, will be forwarded gratis on application.

The subjoined testimonial of the late Dr. JONATHAN PEREIRA, Professor at the University of London, author of "The Elements of Materia Medica and Therapeutics," is selected from innumerable others from medical and scientific men of the highest distinction:—

"My dear Sir—I was very glad to find from you, when I had the pleasure of seeing you in London, that you were interested commercially in Cod Liver Oil. It was fitting that the Author of the best analysis and investigations into the properties of this Oil should himself be the Purveyor of this important medicine.

"I feel, however, some diffidence in venturing to fulfil your request by giving you my opinion of the quality of the oil of which you gave me a sample; because I know that no one can be better, and few so well, acquainted with the physical and chemical properties of this medicine as yourself, whom I regard as the highest authority on the subject.

"I can, however, have no hesitation about the propriety of responding to your application. The oil which you gave me was of the very finest quality, whether considered with reference to its colour, flavour, or chemical properties; and I am satisfied that for medicinal purposes no finer oil can be procured.

"With my best wishes for your success, believe me, my dear Sir, to be very faithfully yours,
 (Signed) JONATHAN PEREIRA.
 "Finsbury-square, London, April 16, 1851.

"To Dr. de Jongh."

Sold WHOLESALE and RETAIL, in bottles, labelled with Dr. de Jongh's stamp and signature, by

ANSAR, HARFORD, and Co., 77, Strand,
 Sole Consignees and Agents for the United Kingdom and British Possessions, and by all respectable Chemists and Vendors of Medicines in Town and Country, at the following prices:—

	IMPERIAL MEASURE.
Half-pints, 2s. 6d.; Pints, 4s. 6d.	

RUPTURES.—BY ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

THE MOC-MAIN LEVER TRUSS is allowed by upwards of 200 Medical Gentlemen to be the most effective invention in the curative treatment of Hernia. The use of a steel spring (so often hurtful in its effects) is here avoided, a soft Bandage being worn round the body, while the requisite resisting power is supplied by the Moc-Main Pad and Patent Lever, fitting with so much ease and closeness that it cannot be detected, and may be worn during sleep. A descriptive circular may be had, and the Truss (which cannot fail to fit) forwarded by post, on the circumference of the body, two inches below the hips, being sent to the Manufacturer, Mr. JOHN WHITE, 223, Piccadilly, London.

ELASTIC STOCKINGS, KNEE CAPS, &c. For VARI-COSE VEINS, and all cases of WEAKNESS and SWELLING of the LEGS, SPRAINS, &c. They are porous, light in texture, and inexpensive, and are drawn on like an ordinary stocking. Price from 7s. 6d. to 16s. Postage, 6d.

STEAM to INDIA, CHINA, and AUSTRALIA, &c.

The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's Steamers, carrying her Majesty's mails and despatches, start from Southampton for the undermentioned ports, as follows:—

For ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, on the 4th and 20th of every month.

For ADELAIDE, PORT PHILIP, and SYDNEY (touching at BATAVIA), on the 4th of every alternate month; next departure, 4th July.

For MALTA and ALEXANDRIA on the 4th and 20th of the month.

For VIGO, OPORTO, LISBON, CADIZ, and GIBRALTAR, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of every month.

The Company's new and fast Steam-ships VALETTA and VECTIS are despatched from MARSEILLES to MALTA on the 10th and 20th of every month (in connexion with the Southampton Packets of the 4th and 20th of the month).

For further information, and tariffs of the Company's rates of passage-money, and freight, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London; and Original place, Southampton.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.

The Court of Directors grant LETTRES OF CREDIT and BILLS at 30 days' sight upon the Company's Bank at Adelaide. The exchange on sums above £10 is now at a premium or charge of two per cent. Approved drafts on South Australia negotiated, and bills collected.

Apply at the Company's Offices, 54, Old Broad-street, London. WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.
 London, June, 1854.

WANTED, ACTIVE AGENTS FOR THE AMAZON LIFE ASSURANCE AND LOAN COMPANY, AND SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY.

A liberal commission and procuration fees allowed. Applications to be made to

Sir E. GRAHAM, Bart.,
 Manager, pro tem
 1, Ironmonger-lane, London.
 Loans on Personal Security.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—WHERE IS FUTURE?

VOYE'S?—This having been a subject of much inquiry, induces Messrs. FUTURE and Co. to acquaint the public and Gentry that they have not any establishment in the Crystal Palace; and the reason is, that they expect so many of the Exhibitors at the Exhibition of 1854, as well as at those of Dublin and New York. It must, therefore, be obvious to all, that were they to become Exhibitors it would be opposing some of their largest consumers. Many of their Patents, Registered Articles, and other manufactures, may be obtained of the retailers at the Crystal Palace, of Messrs. FUTURE and Co.'s Manufactory and Warehouse, 154, Regent-street; 8, 11, and 12, Bond-street; 28 and 29, Silver-street; and 54, Rue de Rivoli, Paris.

STAYS SUPERSEDED.

GREAT EXHIBITION ELASTIC BODICE.

DICE.—Stiff stays destroy natural grace, produce deformity, and implant disease. Curvature of the spine, consumption, and a host of evils arise from their use. MARTIN'S ELASTIC BODICE is without wholesale sales, at the same time furnishing a sufficient support, and imparting to the figure that natural elegance, which is quite impossible under the pressure which is the great sin, as mischief is the certain end, of all kinds of stays. The time and patience of the wearer are also spared, by a simple fastening in front, to obviate the trouble of lacing. Can be sent by post.

To be obtained only of the Inventors and Manufacturers, E. and E. H. MARTIN, 504, New Oxford-street.
 A Prospectus, &c., on receipt of a stamp.

CAUTION.—To Tradesmen, Merchants,

Shippers, Outfitters, &c.—Whereas it has lately come to my knowledge, that some unprincipled persons have, for some time past, been imposing upon the public by selling to the trade and others a spurious article under the name of BOND'S PERMANENT MARKING INK, this is to give notice, that I am the original and sole proprietor and manufacturer of the said article, and do not employ any traveller, or authorise any persons to represent themselves as coming from my establishment for the purpose of selling the said ink. This caution is published by me to prevent further imposition upon the public, and serious injury to myself. E. B. BOND, sole executor and widow of the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield.

To avoid disappointment from the substitution of counterfeits, be careful to ask for the genuine Bond's Permanent Marking Ink, and further to distinguish it, observe that NO SIXPENNY SIZE is, or has at any time, been prepared by him, the inventor and proprietor.

THE MOST CERTAIN PREVENTION

OF CHOLERA YET DISCOVERED.—Further Great Reduction in Price.—CREW'S DISINFECTING FLUID is the Best and Cheapest for the purification of Dwelling Houses, Stables, Dog Kennels, Ships' Holds, Cattle Drains, Water Closets, &c., the Disinfection of Sick Rooms, Clothing, Linen, and for the Prevention of Contagion and Bad Smells.

The extraordinary power of this Disinfecting and purifying Agent is now acknowledged, and its use recommended by the College of Physicians. Unlike the action of many other disinfectants, it destroys all noxious smells, and is itself scentless. The manufacturer, having destroyed a monopoly fostered by the false assumption of the title of a patent, has to warn the public against all spurious imitations. Each Bottle of Crew's Disinfecting Fluid contains a dose of concentrated solution of Chloride of Zinc, which may be diluted for use with 200 times its bulk of water. Vide instructions accompanying each bottle. Sold by all Chemists and Shipping Agents in the United Kingdom. Imperial quarts at 2s.; pints at 1s.; half-pints 6d.; larger vessels at 5s. per gallon. Manufactured at H. G. GRAY'S, Commercial Wharf, Mile-end, London.

MANCHESTER and LONDON LIFE ASSURANCE and LOAN ASSOCIATION, KING-STREET, MANCHESTER; WEST STRAND, LONDON; CAVENDISH-BOW, RUTLAND-SQ., DUBLIN; WALMER-BUILDINGS, LIVERPOOL.

1. Life and survivorship risks of every description—civil, naval, or military.
2. Loans on equitable terms, life assurance being contemporaneously effected, on approved personal or any other sufficient security.
Four-fifths, or 80 per cent., divided every five years amongst all policyholders entitled to profits.

Secretary, Manchester—
CHARLES HENRY MINCHIN.
Actuary and Secretary, London—
WILLIAM JAMES STRICKLAND.

UNITED MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 54, CHANCERY-LANE.

Policies insurable.
No charge for Policy Stamps.
Whole profits divided annually.
Assurances on the strictly mutual principle.
Invalid lives assured at equitable rates.

THOMAS PRITCHARD, Resident Director.

BANK OF DEPOSIT, No. 3, Pall-mall East, and 7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, London.

Established May, 1844.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to examine the Plan of this Institution, by which a high rate of Interest may be obtained with perfect Security.

The Interest is payable in JANUARY and JULY, and for the convenience of parties residing at a distance, may be received at the Branch Offices, or paid through Country Bankers, without expense.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.
Prospectuses sent free on application.

KENT MUTUAL

LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE SOCIETIES.

CHIEF OFFICES—No. 6, Old Jewry, London.

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HIGH-STREET, ROCHESTER.
WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.
ALBION-PLACE, HYDE-PARK-SQUARE.
SLOANE-STREET, CHELSEA.
NEW-STREET, BIRMINGHAM.
BOND-STREET, WOLVERHAMPTON.

LIFE.

TRUSTEES.

Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Chewton, Wilton-crescent, Belgrave-square.
Sir William Magnus, Bart. and Alderman, Postford Lodge, Guildford, Surrey.
Sir James Duke, Bart., M.P. and Alderman, Portland-place.
Alex. Bramwell Brenner, Esq., Billiter-square, and West Hall, Mortlake.
William Squire Plaine, Esq., Gravesend.

The great success of this Society since its institution will be seen in the following statement:—

Year.	Number of New Policies issued.	Annual Premiums on New Policies.	Amounts assured by New Policies.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1850-51	293	2,427 2 2	66,990 8 6
1851-52	127	1,236 15 9	36,749 5 6
1852-53	197	2,287 4 7	69,918 6 0
1853-54	371	5,983 8 2	168,253 8 10
Total.	988	11,934 10 8	341,911 8 10

Most moderate Premiums, half of which may remain unpaid, bearing interest at 5 per cent. Policies granted from 10s. and upwards, and for stated periods, the whole term of life, or assuring payment at specified ages, by Quarterly, Half-yearly, Yearly, or a limited number of Annual payments. No additional charge to persons in the Army, Navy, or Militia, unless in actual service. ALL POLICIES INDISPENSIBLE. Lives declined by other Offices assured at rates commensurate with state of health. Whole Profits divisible triennially among the Assured. Liberty for Foreign Residence and Travel greatly extended, and Emigrants covered, at a very moderate additional charge, against the risks of voyage.

The INDUSTRIAL BRANCH offers peculiarly favourable advantages to the humbler classes for securing, by means of small weekly or monthly payments, the receipt of sums payable at specified ages, or on Death. Claims promptly paid.

FIRE.

TRUSTEES.

Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Chewton, Wilton-crescent, Belgrave-square.
Isaac Belsey, Esq., Rochester.
William Squire Plaine, Esq., Gravesend.
John Saddington, Esq., Gravesend.

Also most reasonable Premiums. Policies issued for small sums and short periods. Guarantee Fund, 100,000*l*. Portion of Premiums periodically returned to the Insured. Last return 25 per cent. Claims promptly paid.
Between 8000 and 10,000 Policies have been issued by these Societies. Agents are required in various localities, and to whom liberal commissions, &c., will be allowed.

Policies may be effected daily; and Prospectuses, Annual Reports, Proposal Forms, and all other Information, will be supplied upon application at the Chief Offices, the Branches, or at any of the numerous Agencies throughout the United Kingdom, personally or by letter.

GEORGE CUMMING, Manager.

TO LITERARY MEN.

A PUBLIC MEETING of Gentlemen connected with General Literature and Journalism will be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 21st of June, at the Freemasons' Tavern. WILLIAM SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., M.P., will take the Chair at seven o'clock precisely.

This meeting has been called with the sanction of several esteemed authors, to take into consideration the best method of bringing Literary Men into a Corporate Association; and the attendance of gentlemen interested is earnestly solicited.

PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1855.

METROPOLITAN TRADE MEETINGS.—The Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Trade, being desirous that the officers charged with the preliminary arrangements for the Paris Exhibition should have the assistance of a few gentlemen practically acquainted with each of the most important branches of trade carried on in the metropolis, invite all persons engaged in the under-mentioned Trades, and who may be interested in the Exhibition, to assemble at Marlborough House, on the days hereafter mentioned, for the purpose of considering how those trades may best be represented, and to name the persons who may best yield the assistance that is required.

The Meetings to take place punctually at 11 o'clock each day.

Philosophical Instrument Makers, on Monday, June 19.

Musical Instrument Makers, Tuesday, June 20.

Manufacturers of Hardware, Pewterers, and Brassfounders, Wednesday, June 21.

Saddlers and Harness Makers, Thursday, June 22.

Tanners, Curriers, and Leatherdressers, Friday, June 23.

Furriers, Saturday, June 24.

Notice of other Meetings will appear in due course.

By order,

H. C. OWEN, Captain R.E.

Marlborough House, Pall-mall,
June 14, 1854.

FREQUENT TRAVELLERS can INSURE against RAILWAY ACCIDENTS by the YEAR, for terms of YEARS, or for the whole of LIFE, on application to the Booking Clerks at the Principal Railway Stations, and at the Offices of the RAILWAY PASSENGERS ASSURANCE COMPANY, 3, OLD BROAD-STREET, LONDON.

WILLIAM J. VIAN, Secretary.

FUTVOYE'S WEDDING and BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

This Establishment is allowed to possess the largest and choicest variety of English and foreign fancy goods, both valuable and inexpensive, consisting of jewellery, watches, clocks, bronzes, dressing and writing cases, fancy leather, pearl and tortoiseshell goods, papier maché, &c., many of which are admirably adapted for presents; and, from the already well known extensive nature of Messrs. Futvoye's wholesale transactions, apart from this Establishment, they are enabled to supply the best workmanship, combined with moderate charges, which, it is scarcely necessary to state, can only be effected in such cases.

Retail, 154, Regent-street, corner of Bank-street. Wholesale and Export Warehouse, 25 and 29, Silver-street; 34, Rue de Rivoli, Paris.

Illustrated catalogues sent free on application.

THE WORKING TAILORS' ASSOCIATION.

34, Castle-street East, Oxford-street, London.

TRUSTEES.

E. V. NEALE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 3, Old-square, Lincoln's Inn.

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